



# THE BOOK OF HADES

(FROM THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SETI I.)

(Continued from Vol. X)

---

TRANSLATED BY  
E. LEFÉBURE.

---

TENTH DIVISION—PLATES 12, 11 AND 10.

## DOOR.

The great god arrives at this pylon, and enters this pylon  
this great god is adored by the gods who are there

The pylon *Seri-t*, or the chapel. At the entrance  
*Nemz*, holding a knife, and on the inside *Kefi*, robed  
in white. In the interior, sixteen uræi, opposite  
them :

Come to us, dweller on the horizon, great god, who  
opened the refuge ! Open the holy gates. draw back the  
mysterious doors.

### Door of the Serpent *Stu*.

He who is on this door opens to RA. SAU says to STU :  
"Open thy gate, draw back thy door. He will illuminate  
the darkness and the shades, and (will place) light in the



concealed abode. This door closes after the entrance of this great god, and the uræi which are in this pylon cry out when they hear this door close."

#### SCENES.<sup>1</sup>

A. Four persons, the *Anti-u*, or *those who fix*, holding with one hand a knife and with the other a kind of hook of rope or a club; four other persons armed with the same, but having each four uræi for a head, the *Hati-u*<sup>2</sup> or *bearers of the club*. Opposite, the serpent *Apap*, of which it is said: *His cry is wafted into hell*. He is tied by the neck with a chain on which the goddess Serk,<sup>3</sup> one of the forms of Isis, is drawn out. The chain is held by four men, *Stefi-u*, or *those who fire*, placed opposite the *Anti-u* and the *Hati-u*. Twelve gods, *T'atin* with the strong arm, holding also the chain and turning his back to the *Stefi-u*. An enormous hand, *the concealed body* drawing towards it the chain, which then rises over the five serpents (the first of which is *Uammeti*), each attached by the means of a small chain to the larger one by Seb Mester Hupi. Kebhscnuf and Tuaumatef armed with hooks and clubs; these five gods issue by half from the great chain, and face the preceding gods. The chain ends at the feet of Osiris, Inhabitant of *Amenti*.

B. The boat of *Ra* and the Infernals, a person,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for the scenes and the legends, Champollion, *Notices*, Vol. II, pp. 532 to 536, tomb of Rameses.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. tomb of Rameses VI., and Chabas, *Egyptology*, 1876, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. sarcophagus of T'a-ho, Museum of the Louvre.

· *Unti*, who with one hand raises a star and with the other hand raises another star. Four gods squatted, bearing on their head an uræus with a long tail. Horus (hawk-headed), Serek, Abesh, and Sekhet (lionheaded). Three persons, the stars, each raising a star with one hand, and with the other hand drawing by a rope towards the solar bari a small boat in which is, half surrounded by an uræus, a human head, *the head of the disk*, a winged serpent which rises up, *Semi*, a person, *Besi*, pouring flame on the head of a bull placed at the end of a stick struck with a sword. An uræus standing up, *Ankhi*, with its head flanked by two human heads. Four women, the *Invocators*, in a posture of adoration. Two bows supporting each three uræi, *the diadem of the uræi*. In the middle, with one foot placed on each bow, the *Double-headed*, with the head of Set and of Horus, with four arms in adoration.

C. Twelve bearers of oars, the gods Akhum-u Sek-u.<sup>1</sup> Twelve women holding a rope, *the hours which tow along*. Four gods with a sceptre: Bauti, or the monkey, with an animal's head. Seshesha, who has a star over his head. The Bull of Amenti, with the head of a bull, and *He who names the stars* with a star over his head. Opposite, on a bracket, and over his head a star, a monkey named the god of *Ruten* (Syria). On another bracket a large sacred eye. A god with a sceptre, *the master of his house*, advancing towards the sacred eye.

<sup>1</sup> The unknown who row, these are the circumpolar stars; the other stars, having a rising and setting, are the *Akhem-u Urt-u*, or, "the unknown who repose themselves."

A. Those who are in this scene rise for RA, who arises<sup>1</sup> and approaches them. (They sing to RA): "Amen, RA; Rule, *Khuti*. They beat down APAP in his hands. Do not ascend, RA, towards thy enemy; thy enemy does not ascend. RA. May thy holy things which have a place in *Mehen* be brought forth. APAP is stricken with his sword. He is sacrificed! RA rises at the finishing hour. The great god ascends when his chain(s) is fixed.

The serpent which is in this scene, Serp. 2, joins again his chain. The boat of this great god advances towards the narrow pass of APAP. The great god comes when his chain is fixed.

Those who are in this scene drag the chain of the ex-doer. They say to RA: Come, RA; advance. *Khuti*. The chain is placed on *Neha-her*, and APAP is in his hands.

Those who are in this scene as *guardians of the Fomenters of trouble*, watch over the murderous chain which is in the hand of the *Concealed Body* in the corners of which are placed the dead at the pylons of the *Hill of the Great of Ameti*. The god says: "Darkness to thy counterpane, *Fomenters*. Destruction to you, *Fomenters of trouble*, which is in the hand, which causes (you) evil by the means of the great chain which is in it! SER guards your bonds, and the threads of the chain place the murderous count on you." Watch under the inspection of the *Hill of Ameti*.

Those who are in this scene lead the chains of the *Fomenters of trouble*, and the boat of the great god advances.

B. The great god is towed along by the gods of Hell.

<sup>1</sup> *Autl-n*, M. Naville.

<sup>2</sup> *Thothot*, Serp. VI.

<sup>3</sup> The words "for Ra" are wrongly repeated here, but not in the original.

ny say, those who tow along RA : Let us tow along heaven, Let us tow along towards heaven, Servants<sup>1</sup> of Nu ! Take possession, RA, of thy countenance,

1. Unite thyself, RA, to thy countenance, thy truth.<sup>2</sup> countenance of RA open, and let the eyes of *Khuti* Let him drive away the darkness of Amenti, let him ht where he had sent shade.

ises for RA, placing<sup>3</sup> himself over UNTI : this god him, and the hour fulfils its duties.

who are in this scene, the inhabitants of the earth<sup>4</sup> rem. They rise for RA. They are seated (on)<sup>1</sup> a age which is under them, and they raise themselves RA with the mysterious image which is under them.

who are in this scene invoke with their stars. They : rope before this boat, and they enter Nu.

countenance of RA glides along and advances in l : those who are in hell invoke him.

es for RA ; it guides the good god through hell the eastern horizon.

ses for RA : he throws flame on the head, and the (?)<sup>6</sup> which is in the hand of the warrior servant of this ears.

as for RA : the length of time marked out in years is ed by this uræus, who makes it ascend with him heaven.

of Rameses VI.

us readings from the tomb of Rameses VI. · Take possession, Ra, intenance. Arise higher ! Unite thyself, Ra, to thy mysterious he meaning of this symbolism is, that the sun, having become by e-headed (pl. 5 C), *i.e.*, "soul," as if he was dead, resumes in the luminous countenance.

p, tomb of Rameses VI.

<sup>4</sup> *Su*, id.

<sup>5</sup> The serpents.

the gift," *ta*, according to the tomb of Rameses VI. The gift, alled thus through irony, is the blow of a knife. Is there any ere to the sacrifice of the bull ?

They say, those who call RA: "Come, RA! Oh! come, son of hell; come, child<sup>1</sup> of heaven. Oh! arise, RA."

It is the diadem of the uræi; he traverses<sup>2</sup> hell.

The bows<sup>1</sup> bear the Double-headed in his mystery. They direct RA to the eastern horizon of the heavens, and they advance on high with him.

C. Those who are in this scene rise for RA, and take their oars in this cavern of Unti. Their appearance, to them, is for the births of RA in Nu; their appearances are for the births of RA: they issue from Nun with him. They navigate for this great god when he places himself on the eastern horizon of the heavens. RA says to them: "Take your oars, unite yourselves to your stars!<sup>4</sup> Your manifestations are (my) manifestations, your births are my births. Oh my pilots, you shall not perish, gods AKHEMU, SEKU."

Those who are in this scene take the rope to tow along RA<sup>4</sup> in Nu: they tow along RA and prepare the pathways in Nu. These are the goddesses who guide this great god in Nu; RA says to them: Take the rope, take your places, pull towards you, my followers to heaven, guide (me)<sup>4</sup> in the pathways. My births are<sup>5</sup> your births, my manifestations are your manifestations. Oh! establish the length of the years (for)<sup>4</sup> him who is with us.

The god in this scene calls out that the gates of RA be opened: he rises with him.

<sup>1</sup> *Atu*; cf. Naville, *Litany of the Sun*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Mehen* is masculine, cf. *Book of the Lower Hemisphere*, 11th hour.

<sup>3</sup> The two bows of hell are mentioned on the tomb of Rameses III., cf. Champollion, *Notices*, Vol. I., p. 746.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. tomb of Rameses VI.

<sup>5</sup> *S*, and on the tomb of Rameses VI., *su*; in the corresponding part of the sentence there is *sut*, which varies in other texts with *tut as*, an expression very frequent in the Solar Litanies.

l in this scene calls on the stars for the births of  
god: he rises with him.

l in this scene calls on the gods of the boat of RA,  
with him.<sup>1</sup>

l in this scene places the stars in their dwelling.  
with him, this great god.

e *Utu*<sup>2</sup> of RA: this god unites it to him, and it  
its place in the boat.

ns the gate of this cavern; he remains in his  
does not rise with RA.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Kher-f*, tomb of Ramcses VI.

sacred eye.

<sup>3</sup> Tomb of Ramcses VI.

## ELEVENTH DIVISION—PLATES 10 AND 9.

DOOR.<sup>1</sup>

The god arrives at this pylon; this great god enters this pylon; this god is adored by the gods who are there.

The pylon *Sheta-bes-u*, or the *most mysterious* of passages. At the entrance, *Mates*, or *the executioner*; and inside, *Shetan*—each holding an enormous knife. In the interior, two sceptres, over which are two crowns of the South. By the side of one, Ser; by the side of the other, Horus; and between the two sceptres:

They say<sup>2</sup> to RA: (Come) in peace (twice), in peace (twice). Many-shaped! thy soul is in heaven and thy body on the earth; thou hast willed it, O great one! thyself.<sup>3</sup>

Gate of the serpent. *Am-net-u-f*.

He who is on this gate opens to RA. *San* says to *Am-net-u-f*: Open thy gate to RA, draw back thy door for *K'huti*. he will illuminate the darkness and the shades, and will place light in the concealed abode. The door closes after the entrance of this great god, and the gods who are in this pylon cry out (when) they hear this door closing.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Champollion, *Notices*, Vol. II., p. 550, tomb of RAMSES VI.

<sup>2</sup> Tomb of RAMSES VI.

<sup>3</sup> Id. The text of the sarcophagus would lead us to understand it, "the god united for thee."

SCENES.<sup>1</sup>

Four persons, each holding a disk, *the bearers of four bearers of stars*. Four persons with an ankh in their hands, those who go out. Four ram-headed persons with a sceptre, *Ba, Num, Pe-nter*. Four hawk-headed persons with a sceptre, *Shenebt, Sapt*, and *he who is in his double*. Eight women seated on uræi, and each holding a staff with one hand; *the protecting hours*. A hawk-headed person with a sceptre (*Sebck-ra*)<sup>2</sup> behind him a serpent in an erect position.

The boat and the Infernals. Nine persons, four of whom are wolf-headed, each holding a large staff, a crook, and a knife, *the nine who slay Apap*. Bound by chains attached to five objects like the *ph sent*, the cords of Horus. Four monkeys, holding an enormous hand. Two women wear on their heads the diadems of Upper and Lower *Amenti*. A person with a sceptre in his hand. *i.*

Four men with the crown of the South, *the leads*. Four men bare-headed, *the Afflicted*. Four men with the crown of the North, the *Nem-u*. Four men bare-headed, the *Renniu*. Four women with the crown of the South, *the Royal*. Four women with the crown of the North (the *Nemtu*).<sup>3</sup> Four women without a crown (*the Afflicted*).<sup>2</sup> Four

<sup>1</sup> scenes and legends, cf. Champollion, *Notices*, Vol. II., pp. 53<sup>6</sup> and 54<sup>6</sup> of Ramses VI.

<sup>2</sup> of Ramses VI.

<sup>3</sup> of Ramses VI. Three of them have the complete crown there.



men half bent, *the Araui-u*.<sup>1</sup> A cat-headed god. *Ma-ti*,<sup>2</sup> holding behind him a serpent in an erect position.

#### LEGENDS.

A. Those who are in this scene bear the disk of RA. They guide (in)<sup>1</sup> hell and in heaven by this<sup>2</sup> shape which is in their hands. These are they who (?)<sup>4</sup> speak to the pylon of Aker-t<sup>1</sup> that RA may place himself in the bosom of Nu.

Those who are in this scene carry stars. When the arms of Nun receive RA they shout with their stars, they raise themselves with him towards heaven, and they place themselves in the bosom of Nu.

Those who are in this scene, their sceptres in their hands, settle the possessions of this god in heaven, and in return RA points out their abodes.

Those who are in this scene, their sceptres in their hand, furnish (?) the food of the gods who are in heaven, and pass over (?)<sup>4</sup> the water, RA not having (as yet) arrived at Nun.

Those who are in this scene, their sceptres in their hands, place the *naos*, put their hands to the side of the double boat of the god when he issues from the gate of Sam,<sup>4</sup> and place the oars in Nu (when) (the present) hour is born in it, and (when) (the preceding) hour reposes in it.

Those who are in this scene, their uræi under them, and their hands holding stars, issue from the double sanctuary of this great god, four to the east, and four to the west.

<sup>1</sup> Tomb of Rameses VI.

<sup>2</sup> *Mauti* on the tomb of Rameses VI.

<sup>3</sup> *Pen* on the tomb of Rameses VI.

<sup>4</sup> *Ari*; there is *ba*, or "the soul," on the tomb of Rameses VI.

<sup>5</sup> *Nutt*. This word seems an alteration of *skat*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. tomb of Rameses VI. It is the country of the reunion, Hades.

They call the souls of the east, they invoke this god, and adore him on his going out (when) Setti issues in his shapes; they direct the navigation of the pilots of the boat of this great god.

B. The gods of hell say:<sup>1</sup> The issuing from Amenti, installation in the double extent of Nun, and accomplishment of the transformations in the arms of Nun! The god does not enter heaven, he opens hell to heaven, in his shapes which are in Nun. What opens hell for Nu are the arms of *Amen-ranf*;<sup>2</sup> he is in the black night, whence light issues from the shade.

Those who are in this scene, their staves in their hands, take their weapons and strike *Apap*: they accomplish his sacrifice, and inflict blows on (his) coils, which are in heaven. 'The chains' of this wicked one are in the hands of the children of HORUS: they raise themselves towards this god, their ropes in their fingers. The god counts<sup>4</sup> his members, when he whose arms are concealed opens to make a way for RA.<sup>3</sup>

The serpent who is in this scene, the sons of HORUS strike him. They are placed in Nu in this scene. They weigh down his chains, and if his coils are in heaven, his venom falls into Amenti.

Those who are in this scene direct RA to the eastern horizon of heaven. They direct this god, their creator, with their hands, two to the east and two to the west, in the two sanctuaries of this god. They issue behind him, and give praise to his soul when it sees them.

<sup>1</sup> The coming out refers to the scene of the Twelfth Division.

<sup>2</sup> The "mysterious being," Osiris.

<sup>3</sup> *K'hu-u*; cf. tomb of Rameses VI., where this word has the determinative of rope.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. tomb of Rameses VI.

Those who are in this scene turn away SLI<sup>1</sup> from this pylon (of *Tuan-ti*): they open the cavern and fortify the mysterious (?) pylons. Their souls arise behind RA.<sup>2</sup>

C. Those who are in this scene place the white crown of the gods who follow RA. They remain in hell: their souls arise and remain in the pylon.

Those who are in this scene in this pylon lament over OSIRIS,<sup>3</sup> when RA issues from Amenti: (their) souls rise after him. They are behind OSIRIS.<sup>4</sup>

Those who are in this scene join RA, producing his births on earth. Their souls rise behind him, and their bodies remain in their place.

Those who are in this scene name RA, and magnify the names of all his shapes: their souls rise behind Nun, and their bodies remain in their places.<sup>5</sup>

Those who are in this scene raise Truth and place it in the *naos* of RA, when RA places himself in Nu: their souls ascend behind him, and their bodies remain in their place.

Those who are in this scene fix the length of time, and cause the existence of years for the guardians of the damned in hell and for the living in heaven. They follow this god.

Those who are in the scene in (this) pylon<sup>6</sup> in their wailings lament over themselves in presence of the great god in Amenti: they drive away SET from this pylon, and do not enter<sup>7</sup> heaven.

Those who are in this scene adore RA, and invoke him: They give praise to the gods who are in hell, guardians of the gate of the refuge (they remain in their places).<sup>8</sup>

The porter of the cavern remains in his place.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Set*, as in the following lines this name has no determinative. The *Book of the Lower Hemisphere* places Set-Nehes to the east (10th hour.)

<sup>2</sup> Tomb of Rameses VI.

<sup>3</sup> *Ser* on the tomb of Rameses VI.

## TWELFTH DIVISION.—PLATES 9 AND 15.

GATE.<sup>1</sup>

This great god arrives at this pylon: this great god is adored by the gods who are in it.

The pylon *Teser-t ba n*, or the *most holy of souls*. At the entrance *Pi*, or perhaps *Bai*, and in the inside *Akhckhi*. In the interior, two heads at the end of two long poles; over one is the scarabæus, hieroglyph of the god *Khepri*, over the other the solar disk, and the word *Tum*; between the two poles:

They hold themselves on their heads, they are on their poles in this pylon. The heads rise in this pylon.

Door of the serpent *Sebi*.

He who is on this door opens to RA. *Sau* says to *Sebi*: Open thy gate to RA, draw back thy door for *Khuti*: he will leave the refuge and will place himself in the bosom of *Nu*. The door closes, and the souls which are in Amenti cry out when they hear this door closing.

Door of the serpent *Reri*, almost touching the former one.

He who is on this door opens to RA. *Sau* says to *Reri*: Open thy gate to RA, draw back thy door to *Khuti*; he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Champollion, *Notices*, Vol. II., p. 540, tomb of Rameses VI.

will leave the refuge and will place himself in the bosom of *Nu*. This door closes, and the souls in Amenti cry out when they hear this door closing.

By the side of this door two uræi, *Isis* and *Nephthys*, the first above and the second below.

They guard this mysterious door of Amenti, and raise themselves behind this god.

### SCENE AND LEGENDS.<sup>1</sup>

Above, *OSIRIS* forms a circle with his body: it is *OSIRIS*, who surrounds hell. He raises his arms towards the goddess *NU*, standing on his head: *it is Nu who receives RA*. *OSIRIS* and *NU* have their heads below. The goddess holds the solar disk over a scarabæus placed in a boat. *this god places himself in the boat.* Around the scarabæus are the gods *who are in it* (in the boat). These are, beginning at the side of the door and at the stern, *Son, Hu, Huû, Shu*, and *Seb*: then *Isis* and *Nephthys* stretching out their hands under the scarabæus, then *Scha-ra* (gates or door) going forward. The boat is supported by *Nun*, whose feet and arms are only to be seen: *these arms issue from the water and bear up this god.* The entire scene is surrounded by the waves of *Nun*, which shows that the Egyptians looked upon the earth (or *Osiris*) as a spherical body floating through the air. The boat is directed, as a passage made through the waves indicates, towards a spot where a disk is represented on a band. This band, studded with points, represents the earth,<sup>2</sup> from which the sun is about to issue, and it completely frames in the divisions of the Book of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Champollion, *Notices*, Vol. II., p. 741, tom. of the *VI.*

<sup>2</sup> *Aat*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Preface, p. 11.

Hades which is contained in the inside of the sarcophagus. The divisions of the outside of the sarcophagus were framed in the same way, and the dotted band appears also under the divisions of the cover.

END OF THE BOOK OF HADES.

## OUTER SIDE OF THE COFFIN

## HORIZONTAL INSCRIPTION.

Under the dotted band which covers the 6th and 7th divisions of the Board of Hymns on the outer side of the cover, there are five lines of a horizontal inscription divided into two halves, the first on the right side (pl. xviii), the second on the left side (pl. xix) and is continued on the left side of the coffin (pl. xx). We must remark that the second fragment of pl. xix ought to be the third.

## PLATE IV.

D. Nt, the great savior: I have made him a soul, I have made him a god, I have made him master in the bosom of his mother Zhen, I have never bring forth, I come, I unite myself to him, I have

## PLATES 13 AND 19.

D. THOTH says: My son, Master of the Two Lands, RA(merma) . . . . Osiris King, Master of the Two Lands, RA(merma), the son of RA, master in chain, who is *Seti-merenptah*, truthful, his soul lives for ever . . . . .  
 . . . . . The son of RA, Master of the Division, who is *Seti-merenptah* . . . . in this name of mine from Nt. I do not depart from (him).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pl. iv.

## INNER SIDE OF THE COVER.

## RIGHT SIDE.—PLATE 18.

F. Thoeth between two fragments of wings, remains of the general decoration of the inside of the cover, pulls with both his hands a rope attached to heaven, as in certain portions of chapter 161 of the *Totentbuch*.

. . . . . of the gods by him. He is like . . . . . with the great breath, the great one of heaven, the great SATNE, who is in the middle of the spirits of *Heliopolis*.<sup>1</sup> . .

II . . . . . in *Memphis*. He has made the things of the altar (?) of the lord of *Sekhem*. . . . . to breathe. He has led the men to *Nemti* . . . . . to raise on the partition.<sup>2</sup>

Below, a horizontal line gives the beginning of the 72nd chapter of the *Totentbuch*.

F. (Health) to you, lords of justice, who are free from iniquity, you who live for ever, for the double period of eternity! Let pass the OSIRIS (King), RA (menma), truthful, towards earth, powerful in qualities, Master. . . . .

## LEFT SIDE.—PLATE 19.

L. Thoeth and the hieroglyph of night as on the right side.

. . . . . in the tank of flame; he extinguishes the fire.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chap. 161, of the *Totentbuch*.

<sup>2</sup> Not foreign to the *Totentbuch*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Totentbuch*.





O. . . . . with perishable shapes : open . . . . .  
 raise yourselves on your funereal couches ; order it so that he  
 reposes himself in . . . . . (draw back) for him your  
 doors ; open for him (your) locks . . . . . (it is the guide)  
 of the souls, it is<sup>1</sup> the conductor of the gods ; he . . . . .  
 the guardian of his gates, who places the gods in their  
 abodes . . . . . the companion of the husbandmen . . .  
 . . . I have made my offerings . . . . .

P. . . . . friends of RA who follow his soul . . . . .  
 truthful, by your towing (it is the image) of RA ! Towers  
 . . . . . the OSIRIS, son of RA, Master of the Diadems,  
*Seti-(meren)ptah* . . . . . in Amenti. He says :<sup>2</sup> Hail  
 to thee . . . . . thy splendour, in making transforma-  
 tions . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Tut*, as in the papyrus without name in the Louvre, the royal tomb  
 have *sat*, which is a variant of *su* as may be seen in pl. 11. C.

<sup>2</sup> Beginning of a new text.

Below, a horizontal line, which is common to both fragments N and M, contains the rest of the text, which begins at the corresponding place of the right side.

..... (do not close) the door of my father's tomb.  
 .... (my) drinks are in Z<sub>1</sub>. My .....  
 divine abode which (my father) has made.

..... (there is corn and .....  
 knows how much. There is .....  
 festival).

..... by the son of my body. Give me funeral  
 offerings of incense, of oil. ....

In N, M, O, and P, fragments of a text which accompanies the *Litany of the Sun* in the royal tomb,<sup>1</sup> and which also occurs in some books of the dead of a good period.<sup>2</sup>

N. .... The Master of the Two Lands who is  
 RAMENMA, truthful, in hell, he ..... he comes out of  
 it. The arms of TATNIS receive of me ..... Stretch  
 out your arms to me! I know the .....  
 invoke, be ye glad for my sake .....  
 food for you, he masters. .... I am his son on earth.  
 I have made the way. ....

M. .... (let) him pass. .... The head of the  
*Amen-ran-f*. .... (gods) who cross the earth under  
 that ..... deliver the OSIRIS, KHEM, Master of the Two  
 Lands.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Naville, *Litany of the Sun*, p. 97, and p. 101, 21, 22, 23, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pierret, *Études Égyptologiques*, t. 6, p. 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>3</sup> This arrangement of the text does not come from the pyramids of the kings, but it is found in the papyrus without name of the kings.

. . . . . with perishable shapes : open . . . . .  
 yourselves on your funereal couches ; order it so that he  
 ses himself in . . . . . (diaw back) for him your  
 ; open for him (your) locks . . . . . (it is the guide)  
 e souls, it is<sup>1</sup> the conductor of the gods ; he . \* . . . .  
 guardian of his gates, who places the gods in their  
 es . . . . . the companion of the husbandmen . . .  
 I have made my offerings . . . . .

. . . . . friends of Ra who follow his soul . . . . .  
 ful, by your towing (it is the image) of Ra ! Towers  
 . . . the OSIRIS, son of Ra, Master of the Diadems,  
 (meren)ptah . . . . . in Amenti. He says :<sup>2</sup> Hail  
 ice . . . . . thy splendour, in making transforma-  
 i . . . . .

*ut*, as in the papyrus without name in the Louvre, the royal tomb  
*ut*, which is a variant of *su* as may be seen in pl. 11. C.  
 eginning of a new text.

LOWER PORTION OF THE UPPER PART  
OF THE COVER.

PLATE 18.

E. Runners of the divine hall . . . . . *S' t' n' n' k' t' t' t' t' t' t'*  
truthful, in every place where he is . . . . . to ' of the  
soul to me . . . . . (KAMUSMA, truthful. He will  
find the eye of Horus taking part of him of the . . . . .  
the watchers: does he rest, those who rest in . . . . . for  
cities in him? If he were carried away. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XXXIX. of the *Z' H' n' n' k' t' t' t' t' t' t'* occurs with some difference in the beginning.

## BOTTOM OF THE SARCOPHAGUS.

## PLATES 16 AND 17.

The goddess Nu, her arms hanging down, and her body wrapped round with folded wings, is surrounded with texts. She has over her head the hieroglyphs of her name the last of which, that of heaven, is studded with stars.

Words of OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RAMENMA, truthful, of the son of RA, who is *Seti-nterenptah*, truthful. He says: NU, support me! I am thy son. Separate<sup>1</sup> my weakness from what makes it so.

NU, inhabiting the abode of *Hennu*, says: (O) this son, the OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RAMENMA, truthful, the son of RA, of his loins, who loves him, Master of the Diadems, the OSIRIS who is *Seti-merenptah*!

SEE says: This chosen one, who is RAMENMA, and who loves me, I have given him purity on earth, and power in heaven, to the OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RAMEN-MA, truthful, to the son of RA, who loves Nu, and who is *Seti-merenptah*, truthful, in the presence of the lords of hell.

Speech. (O) OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who art RAMENMA, son of RA, of his loins, who art *Seti-merenptah*, truthful! Thy mother Nu stretches for thee her arms over thee, OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "destroy;" i.e., destroy my weakness (by separating it) from what makes it so.

art RAMENMA, truthful, son of RA, who loves him, Master of the Diadems, *Seti-merenptah*, truthful. Thy mother Nu has given thee the health which is in her for thy son. I have art in her arms. Thou shalt never die. Remained and discarded are the evils which remained for thee. I have come no more to thee, that will ascend no more to thee, OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RAMENMA, truthful: Horus stands behind thee, O thou, son of RA, Master of the Diadems, *Seti-merenptah*, truthful. Thy mother Nu is come to thee: she purifies thee, she gives herself to thee, she renews<sup>1</sup> thee as a god, vivandier, thou art among the gods.

Nu, the very great, says: I have made him a son, I have made him powerful, I have made him master in the bosom of his mother *Tefnu*, I who never turn back. I have united him, the OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, RAMENMA, truthful, son of RA, the Master of the Diadems, who is *Seti-merenptah*, truthful, with life, stability, and happiness. He shall no longer die. I am Nu with the powerful heart. I have placed a seed in the bosom of his mother *Tefnu*, in the name of mine, Nu, of the mother of whom no one is master. I have entirely fulfilled all my splendours, the entire earth, I have taken possession of it, I have taken possession of the south and of the north, and I have surrounded all things in my arms to restore to life the OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RAMENMA, the son of RA, of his loving, loving SAKAR, the Master of the Diadems, the Sovereign with joyous heart, *Seti-merenptah*, truthful. His soul will live for ever.

Nu, says the OSIRIS, King, who is *Seti-merenptah*, truthful, support me! I am thy son. Separate my weakness from what made it exist.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "destroys."

The sovereign of the two parts of Egypt, who is RAMENMA, truthful, the son of RA, who is *Seti-merenptah*, truthful.

Chapter to bring out the day and to pass through *Ammah*.<sup>1</sup>

Speech of OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RAMENMA, truthful, of the son of RA, of his loins, who loves him, Master of Diadems, who is *Seti-merenptah*, truthful; he says: Health to you, lords of justice, who are free from iniquity, and who are living for ever, for the double period of eternity! (The OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands) who is RAMENMA, truthful, the son of RA, of his loins, who loves him, the Master of the Diadems, who is *Seti-merenptah*, come to us; he is powerful by his qualities; he is master of his (magical) virtue, he is endowed with protective (formulae). Deliver the OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RAMENMA, truthful, the son of RA, Master of the Diadems, who is *Seti-merenptah*, of the crocodile of this tank of the just. His mouth is his, he speaks by it. Let him be granted liberty to act in your presence, because I know you: I know your names; I know this great god to whose nostrils you present exquisite things. *Rekem* is his name; he passes to the eastern horizon of heaven, *Rekem*; he departs, I depart; he is safe, I am safe. May I not be destroyed on the *Mesak*! May the impious not take possession of me! Do not drive me from your doors, do not close your arms for the OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RAMENMA, truthful, for the son of RA, of his loins, who loves him, the Master of the Diadems, who is *Seti-merenptah*, truthful, because (my) bread is in *Ta*, and my drink is in *Tep*. My arms are

<sup>1</sup> Chapter lxxii. of the *Todtenbuch*.



united in the divine house which my father has given me. He has established for a dwelling above the earth where are corn and barley in it, the quantity of which no one knows. A festival is celebrated there for me by my soul of my body. Give me funeral offerings, *Scti-men-ptah*, of all good and pure things, upon which thou shalt feed. The OSIRIS, King, RAMENMA, truthful, the son of RA, of his loins, who loves him, the Master of the Diadems, the Sovereign with the joyous heart, *Scti-men-ptah*, truthful, exists for ever under all shapes which please him, he is united in ascending and in descending the plain of *Aker*, he is united to life for ever in the plains of offerings. This I, the double lion.

Said by OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, *Zehenma*, truthful, by the son of RA, who loves him, *Scti-men-ptah*, truthful: Oh! keep that destroyer of my father from me, the OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands. RAMENMA, truthful, for he is my father who is under my legs while I live. O-IRIS, son of RA, Master of the Diadems. *Scti-men-ptah*, truthful, strike him with thy hand. Search him, he is taken, he is taken by thy hand. OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, RAMENMA, truthful, thou shalt not grow weak! No comes to thee, she hides thee and a great uniter. Thou shalt not grow weak, she unites herself to thee, she protects thy weakness, she collects thy limbs, she unites thy heart to thy bowels, she has placed thee among living essences. OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, RAMENMA, truthful, before the good god, Lord of *Taser-t*.

Said by OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, RAMENMA, truthful, son of RA, of his loins, and who loves him, the Master of the Diadems, *Scti-men-ptah*, truthful: O,

<sup>1</sup> Chap. lxxxix. of the *Totentbuch*.

ravishers ! (O) runners ! Oh ! do not seize me,<sup>1</sup> great god ; grant that that soul of mine may come to me in every place where I shall be. If thou delayest in leading this soul to me in every place where I shall be, thou wilt find the eye of HORUS placing itself against these in the same way as the watchers. Is it that he lies down of those who lie down in Heliopolis, a country where there are thousands of towns ? If my soul, with which is my state of elect,<sup>2</sup> is brought to me in every place where I shall be, thou shalt have Ikhmouat, guardians of heaven and earth ! for this soul of mine ; (yet) if thou delayest in making my body see its soul thou wilt find the eye, HORUS, placing itself against thee in the same way (as the watchers). O (you), these gods who row the boat of the Lord of Multitudes, who lead heaven to hell, who clear (the path)<sup>3</sup> of NUT, who make the soul approach the mummy, its hands full of bonds, seize and grasp with chains, destroy the enemy. The boat rejoices, the great god passes in peace ; behold, you have granted that this soul may issue from OSIRIS, King RA-MEN-MA, truthful, with his legs, on the eastern horizon of heaven, for ever, for ever."

Words of OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RA MEN MA AAT RA, truthful, of the son of RA, loving PTAH-SOKAR, of the Master of Diadems, who is *Seti-merenptah*, truthful. He says : Let the great ones pass behind me. May these limbs of mine never grow weak !

The OSIRIS, King, Master of the Two Lands, who is RA-MEN-MA RA, truthful, the son of RA, of his loins, who loves him, the Master of Diadems who is *Seti-merenptah*, truthful, says : NU, support me ! I am thy son. Separate (my) weakness from what makes it exist. OSIRIS, King, Master

<sup>1</sup> Literally "him."

<sup>2</sup> *Khu*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Todtenbuch*, chap. lxxxix. 5.

of the Two Lands, who art RA-HN-MAIA, the father of  
 RA, of his loins, and who loves him, Master of the Divine  
 who art *Seth-meryutab*, truthful, I have given thee thy lot,  
 of thy body there shall not grow weary any of the lands  
 of the Master of Divines, who is *Seth-meryutab* truthful.

END OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF GISEL.

## APPENDIX.

It has been said that the tombs of Seti I.<sup>1</sup> and Merneptah I.<sup>2</sup> give a different version of the Book of Hades, completely different from that which the other tombs and the sarcophagus of Seti I. present. The following is the version from the tomb of Seti I. :—

## GATE.

The god arrives at this pylon and enters this pylon : this great god is adored by the gods who are there.<sup>3</sup>

The pylon *Ma'haru*,<sup>4</sup> the lower part of which is injured.

At the entrance *Ma'ah*, in the interior six male mummies, the gods and goddesses also are in . . . . opposite them.

Come to us, Inhabitant of the Horizon, great god, who opened the refuge ' Open.

In Champollion's copy the representation of the pylon is accompanied by a large scene which, perhaps, takes the place of that of the Psychostasis, and which is described thus :

The god Horus presenting the *Pharaoh-Osiris* to his father Osiris, assisted by the goddess of Amenti.

Door of the serpent *Set-m-ar-f*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, *Notices*, Vol. I., p. 432 and 770 to 775.

<sup>2</sup> Id., pp. 827 and 829.

<sup>3</sup> Id., p. 772.

<sup>4</sup> Id., p. 773.

<sup>5</sup> Champollion, *Notices*.

He who is on this door opens to him. *Sene* says to *Set-mar-fa*: Open thy gate to Khephren, of thy son for *Khuti*. He will illuminate the entrance of the temple, and will place light in the entrance of the temple. The door closes after the entrance of the *Set-mar-fa* and the *Khuti* who are in this pyramid out of the temple of the *Set-mar-fa*.

### SECOND LIST.

THE DEVOURER OF THE DEAD.

Twelve bearers of forked sticks. Twelve bearers of the *Devmur of the dead* from which he devours up. Twelve bearers of the rope from which the bearers issue. The Devourer is a serpent which has twelve human heads on his head. The rope is twelve feet long and over it twelve stars; it terminates at a dead mummy, *Kema*, which is opposite the other pyramid.

### SECOND LIST.

The boat and the Infernal. Twelve persons standing, their arms wrapped up in yellow, blue, or red mantles; the concealed arms, *four*, *four*, *four*, *four*. Eight gods of the temples. Four gods who dwell there.

### THIRD LIST.

*Tuanti*, the Infernal *Horus*, standing, and leaning on a staff, before a funereal couch made of the serpent *Nchaf*, which supports twelve mummies, *those who*

*accompany Osiris, the shepherds who are in repose.* Four persons, between whom is written the word *Khwat*, bowing their arms in sign of adoration.

## LEGENDS.

## FIRST LINE.

RA says to them: Take your staves and strike. Go, O you, against the Devourer! Oh! strike on him. Let the head come out of him, and let him draw back. They say to RA: Our staves are for RA. We strike the evil-doing serpent, O RA, because he has eaten the heads. They issue from his coils: he draws back. These are the gods who are in the boat. They drive *Apap* from Nu, and they raise themselves in hell. They drive away *Apap* far from RA, in Amenti, (where) the infernals guide this god. Their food is (male) of bread, their drink of the liquor *Pero*; their refreshment is of water. Offerings are made to them on earth because they drive away the impious far from RA in Amenti.

These are the gods who sacrifice the evil-doers to overthrow the enemies of RA. They strike the wicked one and make the heads which were in him come forth. (RA) says to them: Make the wicked one retreat; make APAP draw back. Let the heads which were in him come forth. Let him perish. He calls them: He is destroyed, oh eaten heads; you that were eaten, you that were devoured. Come out of him. (RA) calls them and they come out of him whose coils had absorbed them to raise himself over them. Now the heads had entered their coils, because this serpent does not see, does not feel, does not hear; he

See also below.

They possess the mystery of life, not of the dangerous (?) (when) those who are in hell, a hell and when the dead who burn in *Hadron* see him, on the spot.

<sup>2</sup> *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, 1. Aufl., 1907, S. 107.

where the body of this god is. RA says to them: "Let us take, O you, my image, embrace your mysteries in *Ha-ben-ben*, in the place where my body is, which is with me. Mystery to what is in thee! The mystery of hell is what your arms conceal. They say to RA: "That your soul may in heaven, Inhabitant of the Horizon, let thy shadow ascend to the refuge. May thy body be on earth, thou who dwellest in heaven; we give him RA in him. RA (?) feed thyself and unite thyself to thy body, which is in hell. Their food is (made) of the nutriment of *Tirnet*, in which the souls repose. Offerings are made to them on earth because they see the light in hell.

They are at the gate of *Ha-ben ben*; they see what RA sees; enter with his mysterious image and examine what the great ones bring. RA says to them: My food is your food, my nutriment is thy nutriment. You are those who are with my mysteries. Here I am to protect my mysteries which are in *Ha-ben ben*. Glory to you! that your souls may live. Their nutriment is the nutriment of *Khuti*.

*Tuanti* says to them:<sup>1</sup> O God, who dwelleth in hell, who art with us and the sovereign of Amenti, you who cheer yourselves in your places and who recline on your beds, raise up your flesh, unite your bones, close together your limbs, collect together your flesh that the agreeable breath be wafted to (your nostrils.)

### THIRD LINE.

*Tuanti* says to them: O Gods, who dwell in hell, who are with the sovereign of Amenti, who cheer yourselves

<sup>1</sup> Form of Ra, cf. *Latmy of the Sun*.

<sup>2</sup> This end is the beginning—out of its place—of the following line.



in your places and who are resting on your beds, stir up your flesh, unite your bones (so that they may) all bring together your flesh, that the flesh may not be wasted to your nostrils. Overtumblers of the earth, carrying off to your bedchambers the slain and the living, may gladden. See the light by them. At a voice you may rise from your swoon! Receive for yourselves your flesh, the plain *At-hatuf*! Hold ye up of the flesh, for the water is yours. Unite them to the *At-hatuf*! Their refreshment is of water. Neither food nor water for their bodies, their food is in the *At-hatuf*, the plain *At-hatuf*, which is given to them to eat, and the water is there. This food produces their flesh and their bones, their refreshment is of water. Offerings, however, are made on earth as to the mummy which is on the bed.

They are in the circuit of the *At-hatuf*, the plain *At-hatuf*, erect in this *At-hatuf*. The water of the *At-hatuf* is on the *At-hatuf*. The gods of the earth and the gods of the sky cannot descend towards this *At-hatuf*, on account of the height of this mummy. This great god who is in the *At-hatuf*, on the water of this *At-hatuf*. Receive for yourselves, O gods and souls, the holy *At-hatuf*, which is in the *At-hatuf*. The water of this *At-hatuf* is in the *At-hatuf*, the mummy of hell. They are in the *At-hatuf*, devouring for the mouth of the *At-hatuf*, the water of the *At-hatuf*. O Oun, thou dost not perish. O *At-hatuf*, thou dost not perish. The gods do not perish, and take care of the water. Their food is in the *At-hatuf*, and then drink of the *At-hatuf*, the water of the *At-hatuf*. Offerings are made to them on earth as to the

<sup>1</sup> Ant. in the text.

<sup>2</sup> The translation of Oun to water is known by other texts.

destroyed in Amenti *Neb-hatap u*,<sup>1</sup> these are fields of this plain for you, and its water is yours Return to, thanks to me, fields in *Neb hatap-u* Their refreshment is of water, *Nehap* is he who places their bodies Their souls rise towards the plains of *Aam* to take possession of (their tanks)

<sup>1</sup> These last sentences which have already been given are wrongly repeated here





## SCARABÆI OF AMENOPHIS III.

---

TRANSLATED BY  
S. BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L.

---

AMONGST the various monuments of Amenophis III. important information is afforded by three large scarabæi, which record as many historical facts. This class of monuments is exceedingly rare, and almost limited to the reign of Amenophis III. The scarabæi here translated have been published as follows : the first scarabæus, recording his marriage with the queen Tai or Tii, an event which took place before his tenth regnal year, has been published by Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, Tav. 44, 1, and translated by the same author in his *Monumenti Storici*, Tom. III., pl. 1, p. 263. The second scarabæus, recording the lion hunts of the same monarch, has been published *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 1880, p. 81 ; the

third, from two different examples, by Dubois, *Planches Gravées*, 1747, pl. 22, and by Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 1828, pl. 13, and although not translated entirely is often alluded to by Leppé (op. cit.). The fourth scarabæus, in the Vatican at Rome, has been published by Rocchini, *Monumenti Storici*, Tom. IV., 44, 2, and imperfectly translated by him in the same work, *Monumenti Storici*, Tom. III., pl. 1, p. 272. Attention to its correct meaning was first called by Hincks, *Trans. Royal Irish Acad.*, Vol. XXI., Part I., 1843. This is the most important of the series, showing, as it does, the commencement of the disk heresy, and from it a chronological deduction has been drawn as to the probable date of the reign of Amenophis III. Examples of the 1st and 3rd scarabæi are in the British Museum, Nos. 4695, 4696.



SCARABÆI OF AMENOPHIS III.

I.

- 1 The living HORUS, the Strong Bull, crowned by Truth,
- 2 the Lord of Diadems, establishing laws, pacifier of
- 3 the two countries, great warrior,<sup>1</sup> smiter of the Eastern  
foreigners,<sup>2</sup> King of the Upper and Lower Egypt.<sup>3</sup>
- 4 NEB MA RA, Son of the Sun, AMENHEP,<sup>4</sup> the ruler of  
the Thebaid, the Giver of Life, the Great Royal Lady<sup>5</sup>  
TH, the living; the name of her father was IUA,
- 5 the name of her mother was TUAU.
- 6 She is the wife of the powerful King.
- 7 His southern frontiers are to the Karui,<sup>6</sup>
- 8 his northern are to
- 9 Naharaina.<sup>7</sup>

II.

- 1 The X year under the Holiness
- 2 of the Horus, the Strong Bull crowned with Truth.
- 3 lord of diadems, establisher of laws, pacifier of the two  
countries, golden hawk and great warrior
- 4 smiter of the Eastern foreigners, King of Upper and

<sup>1</sup> *an xepš*, see Priet, *Vocabulaire*, voce *xepš*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sutu*.

<sup>3</sup> As of the orbit of the Upper and Lower world.

<sup>4</sup> Amenophis III.

<sup>5</sup> Wife, queen.

<sup>6</sup> Gallas.

<sup>7</sup> Mesopotamia.

- Lower Egypt, Lord doing things. NEB MA RA, approved  
of the Sun.  
5 Son of the Sun, AMENHOTEP, ruler of the Thebaid, giver  
of life, the great royal lady 'Tt, the living.  
6 The name of her father was H A.<sup>1</sup>  
7 The name of her mother was 'T A A, the married  
8 brought to his Holiness the living and well the daughter  
of the chief of Naharaina.<sup>2</sup>  
9 SATHARNA,<sup>3</sup> KIRIRAMA.<sup>4</sup>  
10 The chief of her women  
11 317 persons.

## III.

- 1 The living Homs, the strong, bold, created in truth,  
2 the Lord of Diadems, establisher of laws, possessor of two  
countries,  
3 Golden Hawk, great warrior, slayer of the Egyptian  
foreigners, King of Upper and Lower Egypt.  
4 NEB MA RA, Son of the Sun, AMENHOTEP, ruler of the  
Thebaid of his race, Giver of Life, and  
5 The Queen, 'Tt, the living; the number of lions  
6 brought<sup>5</sup> by His Majesty, by his own shooting, beginning  
7 from his first year, and continued to his tenth, before  
8 lions, 102.

8

<sup>1</sup> Lord of the Vulture, Nehen or Enentya and the Vulture, *Enet*.

<sup>2</sup> The division of lines not marked here.

<sup>3</sup> Mesopotamia.

<sup>4</sup> Or Sathlana.

<sup>5</sup> Kirgip, Brugsch.

<sup>6</sup> Amenophis III.

<sup>7</sup> *an*, brought as tribute.

## IV.

- 1 The year XI, the 1st of the month Athor,<sup>1</sup> under  
 2 the Holiness of the HORUS, the Strong Bull, crowned  
 with Truth, the Lord of Diadems,  
 3 establisher of laws, pacifier of the two countries, great  
 warrior,<sup>2</sup>  
 4 smiter of the Eastern foreigners,<sup>3</sup> King of Upper and  
 Lower Egypt, NEB MA RA, Son of the Sun.  
 5 AMENHEFP,<sup>4</sup> Ruler of the Thebaid, Giver of Life, (and)  
 the Great Royal Lady TI, the living.  
 6 His Majesty ordered that the tank of the Great Royal  
 Lady (Queen) TI should be made  
 7 in the city of TSARUKHA,<sup>5</sup> *excavating* its length  
 8 3600 cubits, its breadth 600 cubits, his Majesty made  
 the great festival  
 9 of the waters of the month of Athor, the 16th day, his  
 Majesty *sailed*<sup>6</sup> in  
 10 the barge (named) Atennefru<sup>7</sup> within it.

<sup>1</sup> The third month of the *S'ut*, or first season of the year.

<sup>2</sup> *A-ḫepi*, great man of the sword, or scimitar.

<sup>3</sup> *Sutu*.

<sup>4</sup> Amenophis III.

<sup>5</sup> Mansourah, Brugsch, *Geogr. Dict.*, p. 986, reads *em dema en Tsarutha*.

<sup>6</sup> Or, "rowed," apparently *ḫen*, the text here badly given by Rosellini, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> "The most beautiful disk," or "orb," or "of the most beautiful disk."





## DREAM OF THOTHMES IV.

-----  
 TRANSLATED BY  
 S. BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L.  
 -----

THIS inscription is found upon a tablet, the lower part of which is much injured, about 14 feet high, placed before the breast of the Great Sphinx at Gizeh. This inscription was first copied by Salt, in 1820, when it was in better condition than the subsequent copies show. His MS. copy is in the British Museum, with other drawings and papers, entitled *Memoirs on the Pyramids and the Great Sphinx*, fo., 1820. Salt's copy was first published by Young, *Hieroglyphics*, fol. Lond., 1828, pl. 80, and a subsequent republication of Salt's copy was given in Vyse, *Appendix to Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh*, 8vo, Lond. 1842, Vol. III., pl. 6. It was subsequently published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. III., Bl. 38,

and a portion of it by Brugsch-Bey, *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1876, sc. 29, who first gave a translation of the most important portion of the text relating to the dream. A translation of part of the contents had been given by me in the above cited work of Vyse, p. 114, and following. The present translation is the first given of the whole, and a collation of the different texts has been made for the purpose. It is indeed to be regretted that the monument has been so much injured, as otherwise the wanting portion would have contributed still more to the history of the Sphinx. It would appear, from the inscription, that the Sphinx was a representation of the king Cephren, the successor of Cheops; that the dream of Thothmes IV. happened when the king was still a youth and had not yet mounted the throne, and that in remembrance of the dream, as soon as Thothmes had ascended the throne, he proceeded to fulfil the injunction laid upon him in his dream by the god.

## DREAM OF THOTHMES IV.

At the top of the tablet is the Hut, and right and left the Sphinx, on an edifice like the façade of a tomb of the 4th dynasty, adored by Thothmes IV. The inscriptions read:

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the two countries, MEN KHEPERU-RA, TAHUTIMES (THOTHMES), Crown of crown, Giver of Life, gives incense and water.

Above the Sphinx is

HARMACHU (HARMACHIS) says I give great power to the Lord of the two countries, TAHUTIMES, Crown of crowns.

On the left side Thothmes IV. offers a jar to the Sphinx.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>1</sup> Lord of the two countries, MEN KHEPERU-RA, Giver of Life, established and powerful like the Sun.

Over the Sphinx:

HARMACHU (HARMACHIS). The speech. I give a strong life to the Lord of the two countries, TAHUTIMES, Crown of crowns.

Between the two scenes is

The speech. I have given to be crowned MEN KHEPERU RA,<sup>2</sup> on the throne of SEB, TAHUTIMES,<sup>3</sup> Crown of crowns in the dignity of TUM.

<sup>1</sup> As of the Upper and Lower orbit of the sun.

<sup>2</sup> Thothmes IV.

<sup>3</sup> Harmachis.

The text then follows—

- 1 The year 1, the 19th of the month Athor, of the sanctity of the HORUS, the Powerful Bull, image of rulers, Lord of diadems, establisher of kingdoms like TEM, Golden hawk, rich in years, destroyer of the Ninebows, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, MRN KHUTU, RA (son of the Sun of his race, TANTHME, Crown of crowns), beloved of . . . . giver of life, stability, and health, like the Sun immortal.
- 2 The living good god, Son of TEM, support of HAKEM-  
AHT, the living Sphinx of the entire Land, crown of the chief son,<sup>1</sup> made of his substance, formed of KHUTU, created by KHEPERA in the likeness of his strength, the image proceeding to the earth in his form as HAKEMAXE, father of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, most beautiful, agreeable to the circle of the god, purifying AMEN,<sup>2</sup>
- 3 protecting its peace, protecting the abode of PTAH [KA]<sup>3</sup> giving what is due to TEM, carrying it to him who is the South wall,<sup>4</sup> making memorials in the daily course<sup>5</sup> to HORUS, making all things, working out the glories of the gods of the North and South, building their abodes . . . . in making all their abodes,<sup>6</sup> the son of the Sun of his race, TANTHME,<sup>7</sup> Crown of crown, like the Sun.

<sup>1</sup> The word here is apparently *ka*, 'son,' probably of the god.

<sup>2</sup> *For me akhet*, uncertain phrase.

<sup>3</sup> *ka xeb*, or of the Upper and Lower world.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Nebu.

<sup>5</sup> Heliopolis.

<sup>6</sup> Memphis.

<sup>7</sup> Ptah, one of his titles.

<sup>8</sup> Amen.

<sup>9</sup> Paut.

<sup>10</sup> Thothmes IV.

4 The substance of HORUS, on his throne, MENKHEPERU-  
RA, Giver of Life. Then His Majesty was like a young  
Anepu<sup>1</sup> like a young HORTS, in the Lower country;<sup>2</sup> his  
beauties, like the sustainer of his father, seen like a god  
himself, rejoicing on account of it, the soldiers, the princes,  
and all the leaders; he was in his strength by his exalta-  
tions.

5 He doubled the circle of his riches like the Son of NUT.  
Then he made a hunt for his enjoyment *in* the Hill of the  
Southern wall,<sup>3</sup> in its direction North and South, to shoot  
at a mark with bronze bolts, to hunt the lions of the  
gazelle land,<sup>4</sup> journeying in his chariot, his horses fleeter

6 than the wind, with two of his followers; they did not  
perceive any one. Then it was an hour of giving rest<sup>5</sup> to  
his servants, at the time HAREMAXU selects to be with  
SEKAR in Rusta, Ranen is in 'Tsainmut' above with (*to*)  
*Isis, Lady of the Wall of the North, Lady of the Wall of*  
*the South,*

7 SIKHILI, resident in Khas,<sup>7</sup> SET-APEP, the Great En-  
chantress, in the holy place from the first beginning to  
the place of the Lords of Kharkar,<sup>8</sup> the holy road of the  
gods to the western horizon of Annu.<sup>9</sup> Then the form  
of the Sphinx of KHEPURA reposed in this place, the  
greatest of spirits, worthy in honour, rested upon it, were

<sup>1</sup> Anpu, or youth.

<sup>2</sup> *xe<sup>h</sup>*.

<sup>3</sup> The Acropolis of Memphis.

<sup>4</sup> Desert.

<sup>5</sup> Desert.

<sup>6</sup> A doubtful phrase. Brugsch reads "grains of corn, with flowers." It  
is known as *Gemz, Pakemis, or Pasemis.*

<sup>7</sup> Xois.

<sup>8</sup> Babylon.

<sup>9</sup> Heliopolis.

- given to it the houses of Ptah-ka<sup>1</sup> and every town which was in its district. Their hands adored its face,  
 8 having great offerings for his being.<sup>2</sup> One of these days it happened a journey was made by the Prince TATHIMIS<sup>3</sup> journeying at the time of noon. A rest it was he made in the shade of this god; it (sleep) fell on him, dreaming in slumber at the moment of the Sun being in the zenith.<sup>4</sup>  
 9 he found the sanctity of this noble god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks to his son, saying: "Look at me! behold me, my son, TATHIMIS. I am thy father, HAREMAKHU,<sup>5</sup> KHILPA, RA, THU, will be given to thee my kingdom.  
 10 upon my seat dwelling amidst the living. Thou wilt bear the Upper and Lower crown on the throne of SEN, the heir.<sup>7</sup> Every land in its length and breadth with (which) the beaming eye of the Lord entire lightens will be thine. Supplies will be thine of the product of the two countries, and the great tribute of every land, the duration of a long time of years. My face is to thee, my heart is to thee.  
 11 Consider as if you were encircled by all my special flesh, the sand of the country encroaches on me, on that which is my existence. Answer me that you will do me what is in my heart. I shall know to say thou art my son, my true helper; come nearer, let me be with you, I am

<sup>1</sup> Memphis.

<sup>2</sup> *Ch*, "Genus."

<sup>3</sup> Thothmes IV. before his accession to the crown.

<sup>4</sup> The Horus.

<sup>5</sup> Thothmes IV. before his accession to the crown.

<sup>6</sup> Harmachis.

<sup>7</sup> *Repa*, "youth," Brugsch.

<sup>8</sup> *An-na*, uncertain.

conducting thee. (When) he had finished this speech, the prince awoke; he listened to these . . . . ., he recognized the words of that god; he made silence in his own heart. He said, let us go to . . . . . the temples of the country let us . . . . . They dedicate offerings to that god,

give ye tribute to him of cattle . . . . . bread, beer and incense; we raise our hands to the protector . . . . . noble

. . . . . The KHAFRA, the image made to TUM, HARMACHIS,

. . . . . gifts in the festivals (of Egypt), in all places . . . . . numerous were

. . . . . of His Majesty, who was at . . . . .

. . . . . of KHEPRA<sup>1</sup> in the western horizon of Annu<sup>2</sup>

. . . . . was done.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The god, form of Ra.

<sup>2</sup> Heliopolis.

<sup>3</sup> This latter portion is in Salt.







# THE FOUNDATION OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN OF HELIOPOLIS.

POLITICAL TEXT WRITTEN ON A LEATHER ROLL.

---

TRANSLATED BY  
LUDWIG STERN

---

THE leather roll which contains the following record of the XIIth dynasty was secured by Dr. Brugsch in 1858, at Thebes, and sold, after his return in 1859, to the Royal Egyptian Museum at Berlin. It remained unknown till 1874, when I published the texts, in facsimile, with a transcription, in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache* of Berlin. Though I recognized its contents as referring to the foundation of the Temple of Heliopolis, yet it was not without an appeal to the indulgence of the candid reader, that I ventured a translation of a text so full of difficult phrases and obsolete words. Dr. Reinisch republished the hieratic text in his *Chresto-*

metley; Dr. Birch, the transcript in his recension, *Book of Egyptian Texts*; and Dr. Brugsch gave a short analysis of its contents in the recent edition of his *History of Egypt*. The following translation is a revision of my first attempt.

The document refers to the foundation of a Temple of the Sun, in the 3rd year of the reign of Usermontu. This king having, ruled for a whole year, together with his father Amenemhat I., the date of the present account ought to fall into this century, B.C., and in my first attempt I even thought the father alone, if alluded to in the text. But, after due consideration, I abandoned this supposition, since, if this were the case, we should expect him to be introduced with his full titles. There can be no doubt that the temple, the foundation of which is described here, is the temple of Horus and Tum, the rising and the setting sun, at On or Heliopolis. It is the famous "House of the Sun," mentioned in the prophecy of Jeremiah (xliii. 17): "He shall break also the images of Beth-Shemesh that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall be burnt with fire."

RECORD OF FOUNDATION.

- 1 The year 3, month Athor, of the reign of the King of  
Upper and Lower Egypt, KHEPER-KA-RA, the Son of the  
Sun, USERSEN I., may he triumph and live for ever !  
2 The King <sup>1</sup> was crowned with the double crown,  
there was a sitting in the hall,  
a council of his attendants.  
the counsellors of PHARAOH, may he live !  
3 and the great ones for the place of the foundations.<sup>2</sup>  
4 "Come, let my Majesty order the works,  
let me think duly of the glories.  
5 Henceforth I will make monuments  
and erect carved columns to the Double Harmachis.<sup>3</sup>  
6 He created me to do what becomes him,  
to fulfil what he ordered to do.  
He made me overcome<sup>4</sup> this country,  
he took note and inclined, (?)  
7 he bestowed on me his protection,  
illustrating what is in the eyes (?).  
Let me do the same in his love,  
. . . . .  
8 I am a king of his making ;  
a monarch long-living, not by the father (?).  
I occupied as a mere child, not yet worshipped,

<sup>1</sup> Read *sutn*, instead of *ât*.

<sup>2</sup> For *ânû*, as given in the edition, might be read *seuentu*. The meaning of some expression, is suggested by a similar inscription in Mariette's Karnak, pl. xii.

<sup>3</sup> Read *en Hor*, instead of *Hor*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ken-u* (beating man), instead of *uau-â*.

- 9 in the egg already I was a superior of the rival of  
 ANUBIS. He exalted me as lord of both parts,<sup>1</sup>  
 10 as an infant not yet gone forth.  
 He anointed my forehead as lord of men,  
 11 creating me as chief of mortals.  
 He placed me into the palace,  
 as youth not yet come out from my mother's womb.<sup>2</sup>  
 12 He gave me his length and his width,  
 and I have a name in his being to forever.  
 He gave me the land, I am its lord,  
 and I penetrated unto the souls in the hearts of his vassals.  
 13 Let me do good deeds\* to him who made me,  
 let me conciliate the god by offerings, to him.  
 . . . . . his son . . . . .  
 14 He ordered me to occupy what he had occupied.  
 I come, O Horus, examiner of the body,<sup>3</sup>  
 I established the offerings of the gods.  
 15 and I shall make works in the house of father Thoth.  
 May he give increase as he made me begin (it).  
 16 I shall fill his altar upon earth,  
 and I shall build, while I abide.  
 There will be a remembrance of my benefits in his house.  
 17 Let my name be the temple, my monument the like.  
 Immortality is a glorious deed.  
 18 There is no calculating a king of age out of his works,  
 they will not know (how) to name him, (?)

<sup>1</sup> Read *per se* "both parts of Horus and Set," according to Lepsius, *Denkm.* III. 5, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Compare: "when thou comest from the womb of thy mother" Lepsius, *Denkm.* VI. 115, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Mais* perhaps to be explained "ancestry, good deeds, happiness" Comp. Goodwin in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> An epithet of Horus, *apocryphal*, which I have met with in a certain instance. Mariette, *Karnak*, xvi. 39.

unless his name be engraved.

19 There is no desolation by the effect of time, the works  
will last,

it is a striving for glories ;

20 it is an enterprise of a perfect name ;

it is the watching over an eternal work."



## PART III

- 1 They spoke thus, and the King  
and those replied to him  
'He is (indeed) an excellent man.'<sup>1</sup>
- 2 O Long-lived ruler of  
King crowned is un-<sup>2</sup>derstand  
to extend (the cord is to) lay<sup>3</sup>
- 3 Margaret, the first of the  
upon the golden throne<sup>4</sup>
- 4 They all would not think it worth  
thy Majesty's name, nor thy  
Let large statues be reared to thee  
of the gods
- 5 to thy father, the father of the  
Tern, the bull of the golden throne<sup>4</sup>
- 6 who makes thy house, at once a temple  
let it be made with a capital of gold,  
let thy statues be reared to thee  
on pedestals<sup>4</sup> everlastingly
- 7 The King himself said  
"Chancellor and intimate counsellor,  
chief of the treasure house,  
8 chief of the mysteries of Heaven,  
it is proposed to execute the work,  
the Majesty likes to have it made
- 9 Let the superintendent in this matter

<sup>1</sup> The god, of eloquence and wisdom

<sup>2</sup> Read *sexeu* in read *sexeu*.

<sup>3</sup> To extend the cord is to lay the foundation

<sup>4</sup> Read *em anut*, but the meaning is *everlastingly*

carry it on as is desired.

I let everybody be vigilant,

10 let them make it void of fatigue

I let every ceremony required be done,

11 and let the foreman perform it

I by hour is a time for doing it,

12 since it becomes thee to order the things (?),

let the beloved place arise

13 Order the workmen

to perform as thou art charged "

The King (rose) with the diadem and double pen, all men following him The lecturer read the holy book, while extending the cord and laying the foundation on the spot to be occupied by this temple<sup>1</sup>

Then his Majesty departed . . . .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Almost all the expressions are found in a text of the time of Thutmose III in Miraltes *Kennel* 15 25 Here the King extends the cord with his own hands

It is impossible to give a sure translation of the lost lines of the text explained only conjecturally in the *Text of the* In line 13 I discern the group, "the South and the North, *anew* it will be rather "he returned







## INSCRIPTION OF AMENI-AMENEMHA.

---

 TRANSLATED BY
S. BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L.

---

THE following inscription, which is found in one of the entrance halls of the well-known tomb at Beni-hassan, has been translated by Birch, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Vol. V., 1856, p. 212, and by Brugsch-Bey, *Histoire d'Égypte*, 4to, Leipzig, 1859, p. 55–56, again in his *Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen*, p. 139 and foll., and by Reinisch, *Aegyptische Chrestomathie*, fo. Wien, Taf. I, 5. It is also translated by M. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, 4to, Paris, 1879, Vol. I., p. 160. It occurs in a hall, or chamber, leading into the celebrated tomb of Beni-hassan, and refers to one of the ancestors of Chnumhotep, whose inscription is also given, containing the account of the hereditary investiture of

his family with the governorship of the *Wahet Mah*, or *Sah*, known, at a later period, by the name of Antinoë. These inscriptions throw some light on the condition of Egypt under the XIIIth dynasty, and the present one records the fact which then prevailed, similar to the great seven years famine recorded in the Book of Genesis. Dependent upon the annual increase of the Nile, which was thus failed, Egypt was occasionally subject to famine, and these, at the time of the XIIIth dynasty, were so important that they attracted great attention and were considered worthy of record by the pharaohs and military lords who were buried at Beni-hasan. Under the XIIIth dynasty, also, the tomb of Abydos shows the creation of superintendents or storekeepers of public granaries, a class of functionaries apparently created to meet the emergency, while the disturbance of the level of the Nile, at Sauneh, points to the cause of deficient inundations. The text is given, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abtheilung II., Bd. IV., Bl. 122. The person who narrates his merits in the text is Amen, surnamed Amenemha.

## INSCRIPTION OF AMENI-AMENEMHA.

- 1 The year 33 of the sanctity of the Horus, life of the born, the King of the South and North, RA-KHEPER-KA, ever-living.
- 2 Lord of Djedras, life of the born, golden hawk, life of the born, son of the son, U-SUTU-SEN (I), ever-living, for ages.
- 3 in the 25th year, in Mah, of hereditary chief the officer<sup>1</sup> AMENI justified.
- 4 The 43rd year, the 15th of Choiak, Oh, all who love life (and) hate
- 5 death, say<sup>2</sup> thousands of food and beer, bread, oxen, geese,
- 6 for the person<sup>3</sup> of the hereditary chief functionary, great one of Mah, guardian<sup>4</sup> of Syene, superior<sup>5</sup> superintendent of prophets, AMENI justified, I followed my lord in his
- 7 sailing up the river to overthrow his enemies in the four<sup>7</sup> foreign lands; I sailed up as the son of a chief chancellor, general of troops, the chief of Mah.
- 8 as the representative<sup>8</sup> of my old father, the favoured of the palace, beloved<sup>9</sup> of the court, I passed

<sup>1</sup> *ẖwt* used as *ker*, "when," or "in."

<sup>2</sup> *An-tat* "gracious hand."

<sup>3</sup> May Osiris give.

<sup>4</sup> *qaa*, "double," Maspero.

<sup>5</sup> *Nem*, "lesser guardian."

<sup>6</sup> *Her* may apply to Syene.

<sup>7</sup> The cipher four occurs in the text, perhaps by error.

<sup>8</sup> *Em atten*, *sa aten* is an officer.

<sup>9</sup> *Meri*.



## LEFT SIDE

- 1 I adored the Ptace. I sailed up to bring the treasure  
to the city of Qabi,<sup>1</sup> with the hereditary chief, the  
governor of the district, the magistrate USHUSIN. May  
he live and be well! I sailed with my body of 400  
2 of all the brave men of Mah. I brought in safety my  
troops, certainly I did all I said. I am a favoured chief,  
very much beloved, a ruler beloved of his district. I made  
a course of years  
3 as ruler of Mah, and all the work for the palace was done  
by my hand. I was appointed superintendent<sup>2</sup> of the  
serfs of the temples of the gods of Mah, 3000 bulls with  
heifers. I was  
4 praised on account of it by the palace for the yearly  
produce of cattle. I worked the whole of Mah<sup>3</sup> with  
abundant labourers. No little child have I injured, no  
widow have I oppressed, no fisherman have I hindered,  
no shepherd have I detained, no  
5 foreman of five men have I taken from his gang out  
for the labour<sup>4</sup>. There was no poverty in my days, no  
starvation in my time, when there were years of famine.  
6 I ploughed all the fields of Mah<sup>5</sup> to its southern and

<sup>1</sup> Coptos.<sup>2</sup> Revenue. Mijero.<sup>3</sup> Bug, ch. m. l. I did lead the chiefs of the temples gave me  
thousand of bulls with their cattle.<sup>4</sup> Antin. or Benthis in.<sup>5</sup> I bounding for labour. Mijero.<sup>6</sup> Referring to the cereal or forced labour.<sup>7</sup> Owner of the land. Bug ch.



## INSCRIPTION OF CHNUMHETEP

---

 TRANSLATED BY
S. BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L.

---

THE following inscription, taken from the celebrated tomb at Beni-hassan, belonging to a most remarkable family which flourished at the XIIth dynasty, has long been known. The text was first published by Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, fo., Cairo, 1830, pl. 33-34, and afterwards, in a more complete and exact form, by Professor Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. II., Bl. 124 and 125. It is taken from the walls of a well-known sepulchre. The most important and historical portion has been translated by Brugsch-Bey, *Histoire d'Égypte*, 4to, 1856, p. 55; his *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 8vo, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 139, 143, 146, and the translation, *A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 8vo, London, 1879, pp. 148, 149,



157, 158, comprising the first half; but the other portion, although not so interesting, is far more difficult. Later, a translation of the whole has been given by M. Maspero in the *Revue des Traductions relatives à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, 1879, p. 160 and foll. The contents show the old feudal constitution of Egypt, the power of the monarch over the principalities, the amount they paid, and the hereditary succession of the great nobles, as also the rights of women to the hereditary estates under the Crown.



## INSCRIPTION OF CHNUMHETEP.

- 1 The hereditary chief, the royal relative, loving the god,<sup>1</sup>  
 governor  
 2 of the lands of the East, XNUMPETEP, son of NEHERA,  
 justified,  
 3 son of the daughter of a chief, BEQAT, justified,  
 4 has made a monument for the first time<sup>2</sup> to embellish<sup>3</sup>  
 5 his district, he has sculptured his name for ever<sup>4</sup>  
 6 he has embellished it for ever by his chamber  
 7 of KARNETER,<sup>5</sup> he has sculptured the name of his  
 8 household, he has assigned their place.  
 9 The workmen, those attached to his  
 10 house, he has reckoned amongst his  
 11 dependents of all ranks,<sup>6</sup> he gave to  
 12 all the ministers,<sup>7</sup> it was as they were.  
 13 his mouth said, granted me  
 14 the sanctity of the HORUS adoring with truth, the Lord  
 of Diadems adoring with  
 15 Truth, the Golden Hawk the justified, the King of the  
 South and North, RANUBKA, son of the Sun.  
 16 AMENEMHA (II.), Giver of Life, established and strong  
 like the Sun, immortal, to be

<sup>1</sup> Beloved of his god. Maspero

<sup>2</sup> The first time he made any monument.

<sup>3</sup> *Smen*, to fabricate or make, translated, throughout, "embellish," or  
 "adorned," or "complete"

<sup>4</sup> *Sru*, some read, "made to flourish."

<sup>5</sup> His tomb.

<sup>6</sup> *xeft*, at this period *xeft*, replaces the face, and usually read "her"

<sup>7</sup> *Nel'en xet*, a kind of officers, a word like the *net'xet* of the Tablet of  
 Canopus.

- 17 the hereditary chief governor of the lands of the East  
 18 HORUS, PAXLI<sup>1</sup> to the succession<sup>2</sup> of  
 19 the father of my mother in Mena  
 20 XUT, he set up to me  
 21 the landmark of the South; he made  
 22 the Northern like the heaven;  
 23 he stretched the great river at  
 24 its back,<sup>3</sup> as was done to my father  
 25 and mother,<sup>4</sup> by the deity  
 26 proceeding from the mouth of the sanctity of  
 27 the Horus, the second born, the Lord of Hades,<sup>5</sup>  
 second born,  
 28 the Golden Hawk, the second born, the King of the  
 South and North, RA-ATHEM, son of the Sun,  
 29 AMENEMHA(I.), Giver of Life, established and strong like  
 the Sun for ever,  
 30 he appointed him to be hereditary chief of the lands of  
 the East, in Mena-Xufu;  
 31 he established the landmark<sup>6</sup> of the South; he sculptured  
 32 the Northern like the heaven; he stretched the great  
 river  
 33 on its back,<sup>7</sup> its place in the East  
 34 was Apollinopolis, to remain in the East.  
 35 Came his sanctity doing away with

<sup>1</sup> The papyrus, *Pap. Ch. 1. 1*, "the great papyrus or mark of the chief of the past." Papyrus of the East of Hades.

<sup>2</sup> *Fau, race.*

<sup>3</sup> In its middle. *Ma-spero*.

<sup>4</sup> Father of my mother. *Brugsch.*

<sup>5</sup> *Mimich.*

<sup>6</sup> *Hutu, tablets.*

<sup>7</sup> Or *spine, out*; either the Nile flowed through or behind the district.

<sup>8</sup> *Tu-Har.*

36 negligence,<sup>1</sup> crowned<sup>2</sup> as ATUM  
 37 he was ATUM  
 38 himself, he set right what he found  
 39 wasted ; he made the district  
 40 in its two parts ;<sup>3</sup> knowing<sup>4</sup>  
 41 its frontiers, for a district :  
 42 setting up their land marks<sup>5</sup>  
 43 like the heaven, determining their waters ;  
 44 by what was in the list, making  
 45 the dues by the valuation of the greatness  
 46 of his love of justice. He appointed him  
 47 hereditary chief, great protector of the land of Mah ;<sup>6</sup>  
 48 he made the land marks of  
 49 the South of his frontiers at  
 50 Unnut,<sup>7</sup> his northern at Cynopolis ;<sup>8</sup> he stretch-  
 51 ed the great river at its back<sup>9</sup>  
 52 his waters, his fields, his tamarisks,<sup>10</sup>  
 53 his soil<sup>11</sup> to remain to the lands of the West,  
 54 He gave his eldest son NEKHT,  
 55 justified, a worthy person, (to be) ruler  
 56 of his heritage in Mena-Xufu<sup>12</sup>  
 57 by the great favour  
 58 of the King, by an eternal decree

<sup>1</sup> Suppressing the insurrection. Brugsch.

<sup>2</sup> *Rising*. Maspero.

<sup>3</sup> Taking one town after another. Brugsch.

<sup>4</sup> *Rex*, or calculating.

<sup>5</sup> Determining the two parts.

<sup>6</sup> Benihassan.

<sup>7</sup> Hiermopolis.

<sup>8</sup> The nome Anupu.

<sup>9</sup> He distributed to him the great river over his territory. Brugsch.

<sup>10</sup> *Aser*, here for trees in general.

<sup>11</sup> *S&*, sand arena.

<sup>12</sup> Minch.

- 59 coming from the north of the country of the Hymn,  
 life of the born.  
 60 Lord of Diadems, div. of the first of the Great Hymn,  
 life of the born,  
 61 RAY-PLAKA, son of the King, the first of the Great Hymn,  
 Life.  
 62 strong (and) firm, like the Sun, the first of the Great Hymn,  
 63 I succeeded from my father  
 64 My mother proceeded as a chief, a day  
 65 chief, the daughter of a chief  
 66 of Mah, to the palace of RAY-PLAKA,  
 67 the giver of life, strong and firm, like the Sun, the first of the Great Hymn,  
 to be the wife  
 68 of the here living chief, the ruler of nears,  
 69 satisfying the heart of the King of the South, the ruler  
 70 of the King of the North, to his own heart of the ruler  
 of the country.  
 71 NIBRA justified, a worthy person, brought  
 72 me the King of the South and North, RAY-PLAKA, Giver  
 of Life, strong and sound,  
 73 like the Sun immortal, as the son of a chief, to succeed  
 74 to the rule of my father and mother out of  
 75 the greatness of his love to me, truly he was AMEN-  
 76 himself, RAY-PLAKA, Giver of Life,  
 77 established and strong, like the Sun immortal, he ap-  
 pointed  
 78 me for chief in the 19th year,<sup>7</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Or living born.

<sup>2</sup> The first of my race, or the first of my race.

<sup>3</sup> *Heka*, or *h3k*, small palace.

<sup>4</sup> Amenemhat I.

<sup>5</sup> *Met-met*.

<sup>6</sup> Amenemhat II.

<sup>7</sup> Uncertain if of his reign, but probably so.

79 Menaxufu.<sup>1</sup> I was adorning  
 80 it. I was making it to be (provided)  
 81 with all things. I caused to prosper<sup>2</sup>  
 82 the name of my father. I completed  
 83 the existing temples of the Ka.<sup>1</sup> I served<sup>4</sup> my statues  
 84 at the great temples. I sacrificed to them  
 85 their food, bread, beer, water, vegetables,  
 86 pure herbs. My priest has verified. I procured<sup>5</sup>  
 87 them from the irrigation  
 88 of my workpeople.<sup>6</sup> I ordered  
 89 the sepulchral offerings of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, in all  
 the festivals  
 90 of Karneter,<sup>7</sup> at the festivals of the beginning of the  
 year, the opening of the year, increase  
 91 of the year, diminution of the year,<sup>8</sup> close of the year,<sup>9</sup>  
 92 at the great festival, at the festival of the great burning,  
 93 at the festival of the lesser burning, the five inter-  
 94 calary days, at the festival of bread-making,<sup>10</sup>  
 95 at the twelve monthly and twelve half-monthly festivals,  
 96 all the festivals on the earth (plain) terminating on the  
 hill.<sup>11</sup> But  
 97 should my sepulchral priest or men

<sup>1</sup> Minieh.<sup>2</sup> Or flourish.<sup>3</sup> Or Genius.<sup>4</sup> I dragged my statue to the temples. Brugsch.<sup>5</sup> I chose a priest of the Ka or Genius. Maspero.<sup>6</sup> Mer, vassals, peasants, serfs.<sup>7</sup> Hades or Purgatory, sepulchral.<sup>8</sup> Little year. Brugsch.<sup>9</sup> These festivals varied according to the fixed or vague years, were in the year but did not mark separate years.<sup>10</sup> *S'et ta s'a*, civil and funereal, or *s'et ta s'a*, flour and food. Entry of grain, Maspero.<sup>11</sup> On the hill, or, "over the hill" is a hill of Anubis.

98 conduct them with me, my father's friend,  
 99 nor his son in his place, nor his son  
 100 favoured in the presence of his father,  
 101 or any other courtier,  
 102 who received the homage of his subjects  
 103 before those who were before him,  
 104 before me, in opposition to  
 105 chamberlains<sup>1</sup> of the palace,  
 106 I paid my court by  
 107 touching the forehead in  
 108 the homage. It was  
 109 in the presence of the word of the king,  
 110 himself, never with the  
 111 by servants to their lord in their home,  
 112 he knew the place of me, though  
 113 the humility of my thought,  
 114 I was one worthy  
 115 of the sanctity of the king, the honoured  
 116 of those around him,  
 117 favoured in the presence  
 118 of his courtiers, the hereditary chief,  
 119 XENHU<sup>2</sup> son XENHUA, a devoted person  
 120 Also praised<sup>3</sup> he what has done for me,  
 121 Appointed has been my eldest son NEKHI  
 122 of the lady of the house, KOKVAI, to be ruler of  
 Cynopolis,  
 123 for the hereditaments of the father of  
 124 his mother. He is a courtier<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sabmer*, or, as some read, *Amor*, a courtier or minister.

<sup>2</sup> *Xenhu f.* his condition or position, degree nobility.

<sup>3</sup> *ganbut*, pillars of the palace, "or household."

<sup>4</sup> *Hesut*, thanked, or homage rendered.

<sup>5</sup> *Sabmer*, one of the king's friends. Drugsch

- 125 appointed ruler of the district  
 126 of the South, given to him, have been each  
 127 hereditaments by the sanctity of  
 128 the HORUS, conducting the two countries, the Lord of  
 Diadems, crowned (by) truth,  
 129 the (Golden Hawk of the gods,<sup>1</sup> King of the South and  
 North, RA-SHA- $\chi$ EPER, son of the Sun,  
 130 USIRTESIN (II.). Giver of Life, established and strong  
 like the Sun, for he made  
 131 his memorial in Cynopolis, making good  
 132 what he found defective. He made  
 133 the district into two parts,<sup>2</sup> causing to be determined  
 134 its frontiers, adjusting  
 135 the dues by valuation,  
 136 he placed a landmark<sup>3</sup> at his frontiers  
 137 on the South, he completed the North  
 138 like the heavens, placed in the fields  
 139 of the fallen,<sup>4</sup> making a total  
 140 of fifteen landmarks set up on  
 141 his fields, the Northern frontiers  
 142 to Uas-h-uas,<sup>5</sup> he stretched  
 143 the great river at its back.<sup>6</sup>  
 144 Its western place of Cynopolis to remain  
 145 (as far as) in the land of the West as requested.<sup>7</sup>  
 146 The hereditary chief NEKIIT, son of KHNUMHETEP,  
 147 justified a worthy person, says: Not has known my wish

<sup>1</sup> Or third divine golden hawk.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch translates, taking possession of one town after the other

<sup>3</sup> *Huta*, tablets.

<sup>4</sup> Uncultivated. Brugsch.

<sup>5</sup> Oxyrynchite, nome.

<sup>6</sup> See before.

<sup>7</sup> *chetf sper*, when, or, as asked by me.



144<sup>1</sup> the king's name;  
 145 by the king's name, the king's name;  
 150 the king's name;  
 151 any other;  
 152 the king's name;  
 153 the king's name;  
 154 the king's name;  
 155 the king's name;  
 156 the king's name;  
 157 of the king's name;  
 158 the king's name;  
 159 of the king's name;  
 160 keep the king's name;  
 161 the king's name;  
 162 on the king's name;  
 163 the king's name;  
 164 was given another name;  
 165 of the other name;  
 166 making to himself the name;  
 167 of the name;  
 168 son of the name;  
 169 the king's name;  
 170 the king's name;  
 171 a person to do what a father had done;  
 172 my father made for it a title;  
 173 and a sepulchral temple for it of his great love of the  
 district,

<sup>1</sup> *Salmu* or *Samu*

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*

<sup>6</sup> Or form

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*

174 of <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup> <sup>206</sup> <sup>207</sup> <sup>208</sup> <sup>209</sup> <sup>210</sup> <sup>211</sup> <sup>212</sup> <sup>213</sup> <sup>214</sup> <sup>215</sup> <sup>216</sup> <sup>217</sup> <sup>218</sup> <sup>219</sup> <sup>220</sup> <sup>221</sup> <sup>222</sup> <sup>223</sup> <sup>224</sup> <sup>225</sup> <sup>226</sup> <sup>227</sup> <sup>228</sup> <sup>229</sup> <sup>230</sup> <sup>231</sup> <sup>232</sup> <sup>233</sup> <sup>234</sup> <sup>235</sup> <sup>236</sup> <sup>237</sup> <sup>238</sup> <sup>239</sup> <sup>240</sup> <sup>241</sup> <sup>242</sup> <sup>243</sup> <sup>244</sup> <sup>245</sup> <sup>246</sup> <sup>247</sup> <sup>248</sup> <sup>249</sup> <sup>250</sup> <sup>251</sup> <sup>252</sup> <sup>253</sup> <sup>254</sup> <sup>255</sup> <sup>256</sup> <sup>257</sup> <sup>258</sup> <sup>259</sup> <sup>260</sup> <sup>261</sup> <sup>262</sup> <sup>263</sup> <sup>264</sup> <sup>265</sup> <sup>266</sup> <sup>267</sup> <sup>268</sup> <sup>269</sup> <sup>270</sup> <sup>271</sup> <sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup> <sup>274</sup> <sup>275</sup> <sup>276</sup> <sup>277</sup> <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup> <sup>280</sup> <sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup> <sup>283</sup> <sup>284</sup> <sup>285</sup> <sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup> <sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup> <sup>290</sup> <sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup> <sup>293</sup> <sup>294</sup> <sup>295</sup> <sup>296</sup> <sup>297</sup> <sup>298</sup> <sup>299</sup> <sup>300</sup> <sup>301</sup> <sup>302</sup> <sup>303</sup> <sup>304</sup> <sup>305</sup> <sup>306</sup> <sup>307</sup> <sup>308</sup> <sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> <sup>311</sup> <sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup> <sup>314</sup> <sup>315</sup> <sup>316</sup> <sup>317</sup> <sup>318</sup> <sup>319</sup> <sup>320</sup> <sup>321</sup> <sup>322</sup> <sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> <sup>325</sup> <sup>326</sup> <sup>327</sup> <sup>328</sup> <sup>329</sup> <sup>330</sup> <sup>331</sup> <sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup> <sup>334</sup> <sup>335</sup> <sup>336</sup> <sup>337</sup> <sup>338</sup> <sup>339</sup> <sup>340</sup> <sup>341</sup> <sup>342</sup> <sup>343</sup> <sup>344</sup> <sup>345</sup> <sup>346</sup> <sup>347</sup> <sup>348</sup> <sup>349</sup> <sup>350</sup> <sup>351</sup> <sup>352</sup> <sup>353</sup> <sup>354</sup> <sup>355</sup> <sup>356</sup> <sup>357</sup> <sup>358</sup> <sup>359</sup> <sup>360</sup> <sup>361</sup> <sup>362</sup> <sup>363</sup> <sup>364</sup> <sup>365</sup> <sup>366</sup> <sup>367</sup> <sup>368</sup> <sup>369</sup> <sup>370</sup> <sup>371</sup> <sup>372</sup> <sup>373</sup> <sup>374</sup> <sup>375</sup> <sup>376</sup> <sup>377</sup> <sup>378</sup> <sup>379</sup> <sup>380</sup> <sup>381</sup> <sup>382</sup> <sup>383</sup> <sup>384</sup> <sup>385</sup> <sup>386</sup> <sup>387</sup> <sup>388</sup> <sup>389</sup> <sup>390</sup> <sup>391</sup> <sup>392</sup> <sup>393</sup> <sup>394</sup> <sup>395</sup> <sup>396</sup> <sup>397</sup> <sup>398</sup> <sup>399</sup> <sup>400</sup> <sup>401</sup> <sup>402</sup> <sup>403</sup> <sup>404</sup> <sup>405</sup> <sup>406</sup> <sup>407</sup> <sup>408</sup> <sup>409</sup> <sup>410</sup> <sup>411</sup> <sup>412</sup> <sup>413</sup> <sup>414</sup> <sup>415</sup> <sup>416</sup> <sup>417</sup> <sup>418</sup> <sup>419</sup> <sup>420</sup> <sup>421</sup> <sup>422</sup> <sup>423</sup> <sup>424</sup> <sup>425</sup> <sup>426</sup> <sup>427</sup> <sup>428</sup> <sup>429</sup> <sup>430</sup> <sup>431</sup> <sup>432</sup> <sup>433</sup> <sup>434</sup> <sup>435</sup> <sup>436</sup> <sup>437</sup> <sup>438</sup> <sup>439</sup> <sup>440</sup> <sup>441</sup> <sup>442</sup> <sup>443</sup> <sup>444</sup> <sup>445</sup> <sup>446</sup> <sup>447</sup> <sup>448</sup> <sup>449</sup> <sup>450</sup> <sup>451</sup> <sup>452</sup> <sup>453</sup> <sup>454</sup> <sup>455</sup> <sup>456</sup> <sup>457</sup> <sup>458</sup> <sup>459</sup> <sup>460</sup> <sup>461</sup> <sup>462</sup> <sup>463</sup> <sup>464</sup> <sup>465</sup> <sup>466</sup> <sup>467</sup> <sup>468</sup> <sup>469</sup> <sup>470</sup> <sup>471</sup> <sup>472</sup> <sup>473</sup> <sup>474</sup> <sup>475</sup> <sup>476</sup> <sup>477</sup> <sup>478</sup> <sup>479</sup> <sup>480</sup> <sup>481</sup> <sup>482</sup> <sup>483</sup> <sup>484</sup> <sup>485</sup> <sup>486</sup> <sup>487</sup> <sup>488</sup> <sup>489</sup> <sup>490</sup> <sup>491</sup> <sup>492</sup> <sup>493</sup> <sup>494</sup> <sup>495</sup> <sup>496</sup> <sup>497</sup> <sup>498</sup> <sup>499</sup> <sup>500</sup> <sup>501</sup> <sup>502</sup> <sup>503</sup> <sup>504</sup> <sup>505</sup> <sup>506</sup> <sup>507</sup> <sup>508</sup> <sup>509</sup> <sup>510</sup> <sup>511</sup> <sup>512</sup> <sup>513</sup> <sup>514</sup> <sup>515</sup> <sup>516</sup> <sup>517</sup> <sup>518</sup> <sup>519</sup> <sup>520</sup> <sup>521</sup> <sup>522</sup> <sup>523</sup> <sup>524</sup> <sup>525</sup> <sup>526</sup> <sup>527</sup> <sup>528</sup> <sup>529</sup> <sup>530</sup> <sup>531</sup> <sup>532</sup> <sup>533</sup> <sup>534</sup> <sup>535</sup> <sup>536</sup> <sup>537</sup> <sup>538</sup> <sup>539</sup> <sup>540</sup> <sup>541</sup> <sup>542</sup> <sup>543</sup> <sup>544</sup> <sup>545</sup> <sup>546</sup> <sup>547</sup> <sup>548</sup> <sup>549</sup> <sup>550</sup> <sup>551</sup> <sup>552</sup> <sup>553</sup> <sup>554</sup> <sup>555</sup> <sup>556</sup> <sup>557</sup> <sup>558</sup> <sup>559</sup> <sup>560</sup> <sup>561</sup> <sup>562</sup> <sup>563</sup> <sup>564</sup> <sup>565</sup> <sup>566</sup> <sup>567</sup> <sup>568</sup> <sup>569</sup> <sup>570</sup> <sup>571</sup> <sup>572</sup> <sup>573</sup> <sup>574</sup> <sup>575</sup> <sup>576</sup> <sup>577</sup> <sup>578</sup> <sup>579</sup> <sup>580</sup> <sup>581</sup> <sup>582</sup> <sup>583</sup> <sup>584</sup> <sup>585</sup> <sup>586</sup> <sup>587</sup> <sup>588</sup> <sup>589</sup> <sup>590</sup> <sup>591</sup> <sup>592</sup> <sup>593</sup> <sup>594</sup> <sup>595</sup> <sup>596</sup> <sup>597</sup> <sup>598</sup> <sup>599</sup> <sup>600</sup> <sup>601</sup> <sup>602</sup> <sup>603</sup> <sup>604</sup> <sup>605</sup> <sup>606</sup> <sup>607</sup> <sup>608</sup> <sup>609</sup> <sup>610</sup> <sup>611</sup> <sup>612</sup> <sup>613</sup> <sup>614</sup> <sup>615</sup> <sup>616</sup> <sup>617</sup> <sup>618</sup> <sup>619</sup> <sup>620</sup> <sup>621</sup> <sup>622</sup> <sup>623</sup> <sup>624</sup> <sup>625</sup> <sup>626</sup> <sup>627</sup> <sup>628</sup> <sup>629</sup> <sup>630</sup> <sup>631</sup> <sup>632</sup> <sup>633</sup> <sup>634</sup> <sup>635</sup> <sup>636</sup> <sup>637</sup> <sup>638</sup> <sup>639</sup> <sup>640</sup> <sup>641</sup> <sup>642</sup> <sup>643</sup> <sup>644</sup> <sup>645</sup> <sup>646</sup> <sup>647</sup> <sup>648</sup> <sup>649</sup> <sup>650</sup> <sup>651</sup> <sup>652</sup> <sup>653</sup> <sup>654</sup> <sup>655</sup> <sup>656</sup> <sup>657</sup> <sup>658</sup> <sup>659</sup> <sup>660</sup> <sup>661</sup> <sup>662</sup> <sup>663</sup> <sup>664</sup> <sup>665</sup> <sup>666</sup> <sup>667</sup> <sup>668</sup> <sup>669</sup> <sup>670</sup> <sup>671</sup> <sup>672</sup> <sup>673</sup> <sup>674</sup> <sup>675</sup> <sup>676</sup> <sup>677</sup> <sup>678</sup> <sup>679</sup> <sup>680</sup> <sup>681</sup> <sup>682</sup> <sup>683</sup> <sup>684</sup> <sup>685</sup> <sup>686</sup> <sup>687</sup> <sup>688</sup> <sup>689</sup> <sup>690</sup> <sup>691</sup> <sup>692</sup> <sup>693</sup> <sup>694</sup> <sup>695</sup> <sup>696</sup> <sup>697</sup> <sup>698</sup> <sup>699</sup> <sup>700</sup> <sup>701</sup> <sup>702</sup> <sup>703</sup> <sup>704</sup> <sup>705</sup> <sup>706</sup> <sup>707</sup> <sup>708</sup> <sup>709</sup> <sup>710</sup> <sup>711</sup> <sup>712</sup> <sup>713</sup> <sup>714</sup> <sup>715</sup> <sup>716</sup> <sup>717</sup> <sup>718</sup> <sup>719</sup> <sup>720</sup> <sup>721</sup> <sup>722</sup> <sup>723</sup> <sup>724</sup> <sup>725</sup> <sup>726</sup> <sup>727</sup> <sup>728</sup> <sup>729</sup> <sup>730</sup> <sup>731</sup> <sup>732</sup> <sup>733</sup> <sup>734</sup> <sup>735</sup> <sup>736</sup> <sup>737</sup> <sup>738</sup> <sup>739</sup> <sup>740</sup> <sup>741</sup> <sup>742</sup> <sup>743</sup> <sup>744</sup> <sup>745</sup> <sup>746</sup> <sup>747</sup> <sup>748</sup> <sup>749</sup> <sup>750</sup> <sup>751</sup> <sup>752</sup> <sup>753</sup> <sup>754</sup> <sup>755</sup> <sup>756</sup> <sup>757</sup> <sup>758</sup> <sup>759</sup> <sup>760</sup> <sup>761</sup> <sup>762</sup> <sup>763</sup> <sup>764</sup> <sup>765</sup> <sup>766</sup> <sup>767</sup> <sup>768</sup> <sup>769</sup> <sup>770</sup> <sup>771</sup> <sup>772</sup> <sup>773</sup> <sup>774</sup> <sup>775</sup> <sup>776</sup> <sup>777</sup> <sup>778</sup> <sup>779</sup> <sup>780</sup> <sup>781</sup> <sup>782</sup> <sup>783</sup> <sup>784</sup> <sup>785</sup> <sup>786</sup> <sup>787</sup> <sup>788</sup> <sup>789</sup> <sup>790</sup> <sup>791</sup> <sup>792</sup> <sup>793</sup> <sup>794</sup> <sup>795</sup> <sup>796</sup> <sup>797</sup> <sup>798</sup> <sup>799</sup> <sup>800</sup> <sup>801</sup> <sup>802</sup> <sup>803</sup> <sup>804</sup> <sup>805</sup> <sup>806</sup> <sup>807</sup> <sup>808</sup> <sup>809</sup> <sup>810</sup> <sup>811</sup> <sup>812</sup> <sup>813</sup> <sup>814</sup> <sup>815</sup> <sup>816</sup> <sup>817</sup> <sup>818</sup> <sup>819</sup> <sup>820</sup> <sup>821</sup> <sup>822</sup> <sup>823</sup> <sup>824</sup> <sup>825</sup> <sup>826</sup> <sup>827</sup> <sup>828</sup> <sup>829</sup> <sup>830</sup> <sup>831</sup> <sup>832</sup> <sup>833</sup> <sup>834</sup> <sup>835</sup> <sup>836</sup> <sup>837</sup> <sup>838</sup> <sup>839</sup> <sup>840</sup> <sup>841</sup> <sup>842</sup> <sup>843</sup> <sup>844</sup> <sup>845</sup> <sup>846</sup> <sup>847</sup> <sup>848</sup> <sup>849</sup> <sup>850</sup> <sup>851</sup> <sup>852</sup> <sup>853</sup> <sup>854</sup> <sup>855</sup> <sup>856</sup> <sup>857</sup> <sup>858</sup> <sup>859</sup> <sup>860</sup> <sup>861</sup> <sup>862</sup> <sup>863</sup> <sup>864</sup> <sup>865</sup> <sup>866</sup> <sup>867</sup> <sup>868</sup> <sup>869</sup> <sup>870</sup> <sup>871</sup> <sup>872</sup> <sup>873</sup> <sup>874</sup> <sup>875</sup> <sup>876</sup> <sup>877</sup> <sup>878</sup> <sup>879</sup> <sup>880</sup> <sup>881</sup> <sup>882</sup> <sup>883</sup> <sup>884</sup> <sup>885</sup> <sup>886</sup> <sup>887</sup> <sup>888</sup> <sup>889</sup> <sup>890</sup> <sup>891</sup> <sup>892</sup> <sup>893</sup> <sup>894</sup> <sup>895</sup> <sup>896</sup> <sup>897</sup> <sup>898</sup> <sup>899</sup> <sup>900</sup> <sup>901</sup> <sup>902</sup> <sup>903</sup> <sup>904</sup> <sup>905</sup> <sup>906</sup> <sup>907</sup> <sup>908</sup> <sup>909</sup> <sup>910</sup> <sup>911</sup> <sup>912</sup> <sup>913</sup> <sup>914</sup> <sup>915</sup> <sup>916</sup> <sup>917</sup> <sup>918</sup> <sup>919</sup> <sup>920</sup> <sup>921</sup> <sup>922</sup> <sup>923</sup> <sup>924</sup> <sup>925</sup> <sup>926</sup> <sup>927</sup> <sup>928</sup> <sup>929</sup> <sup>930</sup> <sup>931</sup> <sup>932</sup> <sup>933</sup> <sup>934</sup> <sup>935</sup> <sup>936</sup> <sup>937</sup> <sup>938</sup> <sup>939</sup> <sup>940</sup> <sup>941</sup> <sup>942</sup> <sup>943</sup> <sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup> <sup>946</sup> <sup>947</sup> <sup>948</sup> <sup>949</sup> <sup>950</sup> <sup>951</sup> <sup>952</sup> <sup>953</sup> <sup>954</sup> <sup>955</sup> <sup>956</sup> <sup>957</sup> <sup>958</sup> <sup>959</sup> <sup>960</sup> <sup>961</sup> <sup>962</sup> <sup>963</sup> <sup>964</sup> <sup>965</sup> <sup>966</sup> <sup>967</sup> <sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup>

189 ASKIN'S son NIMMA, justified, a pure person.  
190 He knew<sup>1</sup> the hereditaments of his ancestors  
191 to rule his district. It was IXNUMHUP,  
192 making his noble memorial within the district  
193 I built a coloumule, which I found  
194 on the place, I set it up  
195 with new columns  
196 inscribed in my own name.  
197 I kept alive the name of my father in order  
198 to perpetuate what I had done,  
199 in all the memorial, a door of six cubits,  
200 of brass<sup>2</sup> and cedar, inlaid<sup>3</sup> for the first

<sup>1</sup> Or, of good stone to see, or in appearance. - Hades, sepulchral

<sup>2</sup> Not dressed, the feathers were *su*, ostrich

<sup>3</sup> On had assigned *rex*.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently determinative of this metal, and the word *as'*, cedar

<sup>5</sup> *Nika*.



## LIBATION VASE OF OSOR-UR

CH. LÉVEY, *Revue Archéologique*, 1891, III, 105-111, NUMERO 908.

TRANSLATED  
BY  
PAUL PILKRELT

THIS vase, in bronze, of an oblong form and having a movable handle, is covered with inscriptions finely traced with a pointed instrument. Saitic epoch. Capacity 5 litres (about five pints).

The text (the translation of which here follows) is found in the 2nd vol. of my *Recueil d'Inscriptions du Louvre*, in the eighth number of the *Études Égyptologiques*.

The goddess Nout standing in her sycamore, pours the water, which is received by the deceased from one side and by his soul from the other.

Saith the OSIRIS. Divine father and first prophet of AMMON OSOR-UR, truthful. Oh, Sycamore of NOUT! Give me the water and the breath (of life) which proceed from thee. That I may have the vigour of the goddess of vigour; that I may have the life of the goddess of life; that I may breathe the breath of the goddess of the respiration of breaths, for I am TOUN.



KHONSU telleth thee of it. Cometh to thee an abundant Nile in his time. His father's blood the water of renewal, he bringeth the life of the dead, and the plants in their season, with an flock in their food. For when loth thy bones firm his good and true stand in dust, he giveth thee the daily elements by his grace, remembering to thee. Thy life he loveth thy person. When a thy son maketh thee in thy return. The beneficent of the West hath established thy person among the stages of the divine lover region, he giveth stability to thy body among those who repose, and causeth thy soul not to distance itself from thee. Isis, divine mother, offereth thee her breast, and thou hast, by her, the abundance of life, she giveth thee the things in the hall of Osiris, she granteth that thou enterest amongst the august personages of the Thebaid, she placeth thy person near to the Good Being, thou dost not cease to belong to His followers. Thou receivest the libation from the hands of thy son, at the period of every ten days, when the barque of the Divinity of Libation, appeareth at the west of Thebes for the purification in Medinet-Abou, where is the face of the father of thy fathers.

He evoketh the remembrance of thy person and saveth thy body entirely and for ever.

A very son maketh the purification for his father, accomplishing the ceremony of water to thy person,<sup>1</sup> and he anointeth his father and reunites him to his mother by invoking thy name with that of his father. The beneficent sister<sup>2</sup> repeateth the formula and provideth thy soul with her conjurations. She granteth that thou leavest and that thou enterest into the Halls. She hath placed thee amongst her benevolent genui. Thy person is strengthened by all her formulæ of incantation. Thou shalt not be repulsed by

<sup>1</sup> The deceased is here addressed as if he were Osiris himself

<sup>2</sup> Isis

O-siris on the earth, and I have been  
 goes. I invoke thee, O Isis, goddess of the  
 elements of the earth, and I invoke thee, O  
 person in the world, and I invoke thee, O  
 of all people, and I invoke thee, O  
 the waves of the sea, and I invoke thee, O  
 thy desire, for I have been



THE GREAT TABLET OF RAMESES II  
AT ABU-SIMBEL.

TRANSLATED BY  
EDOUARD NAVILLE.

---

IN the great temple of Abu-Simbel, between two pillars of the first hall, there is a large tablet which has been added, evidently, a long time after the completion of the temple. This tablet, which is the object of the present translation, is covered with a text of 37 lines, containing a speech of the god Ptah



Totunen to the king Rameses II., and the answer of the king.

It was very likely considered by the King of Egypt to be a remarkable piece of literature, and has been repeated, with slight alteration, on the pylons of the temple of Medinet-Habou, built by Rameses II. The tablet, which is decaying rapidly, has been published three times; first, by Burton, in the *Encyclopædia Hieroglyphica*, pl. 60; then from the copies of Champollion, in the *Mémoires de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, I., pl. 38.; and, finally, by Lepsius, *Denkmäler III.*, pl. 193. The inscription of Medinet-Habou has been copied and published by M. Daumenichen, in his *Historische Inschriften I.*, pl. 700, and by M. Jacques de Rouge, in his *Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, II., pl. 131-8.

I am not aware that any complete translation of this long text has been made. The first part has

been translated into German by Mr. Duemichen (*Die Flotte einer Ägyptischen Königin. Einleitung*), from the text at Medinet-Habu; a portion of it is also to be found in Brugsch, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 538. The present translation I have made from the tablet, which, being more ancient than the inscription, is very likely to be the original. It contains an interesting allusion to the marriage of Rameses with a daughter of the king of the Kheta. The inscription at Medinet-Habu, which is written more carefully than the tablet, and with less abbreviations, has given me a clue to several obscure passages of the ancient text.

The tablet is surmounted by a cornice, with the winged disk. Underneath, the god Totunen is seen standing, and before him Rameses, who strikes with his mace a group of enemies whom he holds by the hair. Behind the god are the ovals of six foreign nations, most likely Asiatics: *Auentem, Hcbuu, Tcnf Tenuu, Hetau, Emtebebu*.

The inscription above the god is as follows :

Said by PIAM-TOTUNIN, with the *hah' g' h' m' h'*, armed with horns, who generates the god *ah' g' y' d' g' h' m' h'* : *Thou thy father, I have be- come thee like : I have be- come for my stead. I have transmitted to thee the world which I have created, their chiefs I have made to be chiefs of men, bearing their presents before of thee : thou shalt be their king, nations are united under thy feet, they are to be thy people, thy eye is fixed on their heads for ever.*



## TABLET OF RAMESES II.

1 The 35th year, the 13th of the month Tybi, under the reign of RA-HAREMAKHU, the strong bull, beloved of truth, the Lord of the Thirty Years, like his father PTAH, TOTUNEN, the Lord of Diadems, the protector of Egypt, the chastiser of foreign lands, RA, the father of the gods, who possesses Egypt, the golden hawk, the Master of Years, the most mighty sovereign of Upper and Lower Egypt.

2 RA-USERMA-SOTFP-EN-RA, the son of RA, the issue of TOTUNEN, the child of the Queen SEKHET, RAMESES, beloved of AMEN, ever living.

Thus speaks PTAH-TOTUNEN with the high plumes, armed with horns, the father of the gods, to his son who loves him,

3 the first-born of his loins, the god who is young again, the prince of the gods, the master of the thirty years, like TOTUNEN, King RAMESES.<sup>1</sup> I am thy father, I have begotten thee like a god; all thy limbs are divine. I took the form of the ram of

4 Mendes, and I went to thy noble mother. I have thought of thee, I have fashioned thee to be the joy of my person, I have brought thee forth like the rising sun, I have raised thee among the gods, King RAMESES. NUM

5 and PTAH have nourished thy childhood, they leap with joy when they see thee made after my likeness, noble,

<sup>1</sup> The name of the King is everywhere written in full, with the two cartouches.

great, exalted.<sup>1</sup> The great princesses of the house of  
PRIM and the HATNORS of the temple of THM are

6 in festival, their hearts are full of gladness, their hands  
take the drum with joy, when they see thy person beautiful  
and lovely like my Majesty.

The gods and goddesses exalt thy beauties, they  
celebrate thee

7 when they give to me their praises, saying: "Thou art  
our father who has caused us to be born: there is a god  
like thee, the King RAMESSES.

I look at thee, and my heart is joyful; I embrace thee  
with my golden arms, and I surround thee with life, plenty  
and duration. I provide thee

8 with permanent happiness. I have fixed in thee joy,  
enjoyment, pleasure, gladness, and delight. I grant thee  
that thy heart may be young again like mine. I have  
elected thee, I have chosen thee, I have perfected thee;  
thy heart is excellent and thy words are exquisite; there  
is absolutely nothing

9 which thou ignorest, up to this day, since the time of  
old; thou vivifiest the inhabitants of the earth through  
thy command, King RAMESSES.

I have made thee an eternal king, a prince who lasts  
for ever. I have fashioned thy

10 limbs in electrum, thy bones in brass and thy arms in  
iron. I have bestowed on thee the dignity of the divine  
crown; thou governest the two countries as a legitimate  
sovereign; I have given thee a high Nile, and it fills  
Egypt for thee with the abundance of riches and wealth;  
there is

11 plenty in all places where thou walkest; I have given

<sup>1</sup> Here and in other places a gap in the tablet has been filled up by the  
corresponding sentence in the inscription of Medinet Habou.

thee wheat in profusion to enrich the two countries in all times; their corn is like the sand of the shore, the granaries reach the sky, and the heaps are like mountains.

Thou rejoicest and thou art praised

- 12 when thou seest the plentiful fishing, and the mass of fishes which is before thy feet. All Egypt is thankful towards thee.

I give thee the sky and all that it contains. SEB shows forth for thee what is within him;<sup>1</sup> the birds hasten to thee, the pigeons of HORSEKHA

- 13 bring to thee their offerings, which are the first-fruits of those of RA. THOTH has put them on all sides.

Thou openest thy mouth to strengthen whoever thou wishest, for thou art NUM; thy royalty is living in strength and might like RA, since he governs the two countries.

- 14 King RAMESES, I grant thee to cut the mountains into statues immense, gigantic, everlasting; I grant that foreign lands find for thee precious stone to inscribe (?) the monuments with thy name.

- 15 I give thee to succeed in all the works which thou hast done. (I give thee) all kinds of workmen, all that goes on two and four feet, all that flies and all that has wings. I have put in the heart of all nations to offer thee what they have done; themselves, princes great and small, with one

- 16 heart seek to please thee, King RAMESES.

Thou hast built a great residence to fortify the boundary of the land, the city of RAMESES; it is established on the earth like the four pillars

- 17 of the sky; thou hast constructed within a royal palace, where festivals are celebrated to thee as is done for me

<sup>1</sup> The plants.

within. I have set the crown on thy head with my own hands, when thou appearest on the great hall of the double throne;<sup>1</sup> and man and god have joined thy name

18 like mine when my festival is celebrated.

Thou hast carved my statues and built the temples as I have done in times of old. I have seen the years by periods of thirty; thou reignest in my place on my throne; I fill thy limbs with life and happiness, I am behind thee to protect thee; I give thee health and strength;

19 I cause Egypt to be submitted to thee, and I supply the two countries with pure life.

King RAMSES, I grant that the strength, the valor and the might of thy sword be felt upon all countries; thou castest down the hearts of all nations;

20 I have put them under thy feet, thou comest forth every day in order that be brought to thee the foreign prisoners; the chiefs and the great of all nations offer thee their children. I give them to thy gallant sword that thou mayest do with them what thou likest.

21 King RAMSES, I grant that the fear of thee be in the minds of all and thy command in their hearts. I grant that thy valour reach all countries, and that the dread of thee be spread over all lands, the princes tremble at thy remembrance, and thy

22 majesty is fixed on their heads, they come to thee as supplicants to implore thy mercy. Thou givest life to whom thou wishest, and thou puttest to death whom thou plearest; the throne of all nations is in thy possession. I grant thou mayest show all thy

<sup>1</sup> Allusion to the festival of the coronation.

<sup>2</sup> The *τριάκοσταις* here and in the title of the King has been employed as we should say a century.

- 23 admirable qualities and accomplish all thy good designs; the land which is under thy dominion is in joy, and Egypt rejoices continually.

King RAMESES, I have exalted thee through such marvellous

- 24 endowments that heaven and earth leap for joy and those who are within praise thy existence; the mountains, the water, and the stone walls which are on the earth are shaken when they hear thy excellent name, since they have seen what I have accomplished for thee;
- 25 which is that the land of Kheta should be subjected to thy palace; I have put in the heart of the inhabitants to anticipate thee themselves by their obeisance in bringing thee their presents. Their chiefs are prisoners, all their property is the tribute in the
- 26 dependency of the living king. Their royal daughter is at the head of them; she comes to soften the heart of King RAMESES; her merits are marvellous, but she does not know the goodness which is in thy heart;
- 27 thy name is blessed for ever; the prosperous result of thy great victories is a great wonder, which was hoped for, but never heard of since the time of the gods; it was a hidden record in the house of books since the time of RA till the reign of thy
- 28 living<sup>1</sup> Majesty; it was not known how the land of Kheta could be of one heart with Egypt; and behold, I have beaten it down under thy feet to vivify thy name eternally, King RAMESES.
- 29 Thus speaks the divine King, the Master of the Two Countries, who is born like KHEPRA-RA, in his limbs, who appears like RA, begotten of PTAH-TOTUNEN, the

<sup>1</sup> Lit., life, health and strength.



King of Egypt<sup>\*</sup>; RA-USERMA-SOTEP-EN-RA, the son of RA, RAMESES, beloved of AMEN, ever living, to his father who appears before him, TOTUNEN,

30 the father of the gods :

I am thy son, thou hast put me on thy throne, thou hast transmitted to me thy royal power, thou hast made me after the resemblance of thy person, thou hast transmitted to me what thou hast created ; I shall answer by doing all the good things which thou desirest.

31 As I am the only master like thou, I have provided the land of Egypt, with all necessities ; I shall renew Egypt for thee as it was of old, making statues of gods after the substance, even the colour of their bodies. Egypt will be the possession of their hearts, and will build them

32 temples. I have enlarged thy abode in Memphis, it is decked with eternal works, and well-made ornaments in stones set in gold, with true gems ; I have opened

33 for thee a court on the north side with a double staircase ; thy porch is magnificent ; its doors are like the horizon of the sky, in order that the multitude may worship thee.

Thy magnificent dwelling has been built inside its walls ; thy divine image is in its

34 mysterious shrine, resting on its high foundation ; I have provided it abundantly with priests, prophets, and cultivators, with land and with cattle ; I have reckoned its offerings by hundreds of thousands of good things ; thy festival of thirty years is celebrated there

35 as thou hast prescribed it to me thyself ; all things flock to thee in the great offering day which thou desirest ; the bulls and calves are innumerable ; all the pieces of their flesh are by millions ; the smoke of their fat reaches heaven and is received within the sky.

36 I give that all lands may see the beauty of the buildings

which I have created to thee ; I have marked with thy name all inhabitants and foreigners of the whole land ; they are to thee for ever ; for thou hast created them, to be under the command of thy son, who is on  
37 thy throne, the master of gods and men, the lord who celebrates the festivals of thirty years like thou, he who wears the double sistrum, the son of the white crown, and the issue of the red diadem, who unites the two countries in peace, the King of Egypt, RA-USERMA-SOTEP-EN-RA, the son of RA, RAMESES, beloved of AMEN, living eternally.





## INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE NIMROD.

TRANSLATED BY  
S. BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L.

THE following inscription, which was found and still exists on the front of a granite block at Abydos, has been published by Mariette Pasha in his *Abydos, Description des Fouilles &c.*, fo., Paris, 1880, tom. ii. pl. 36, 37, 38. It has been translated by Brugsch-Bey, *Geschichte Aegypten unter den Pharaonen*, 8vo, Leipzig, 1877, s. 652 and foll.; and the translation of this work by Danby Seymour and Philip Smith, London, 8vo, 1879, Vol. II. p. 199 and foll. According to Brugsch-Bey, Shashanq, mentioned in it, was a king of Assyria, and Namroth, or Nimrod, his son, who was buried at Abydos, the grandson of Shashanq I., or the biblical Shishak. The granite statue of Nimrod mentioned in the inscription

is said to be in the Egyptian collection at Florence. The copy of Mariette Pasha shows that the inscription is much mutilated, and in the translation which has been given by Brugsch-Bey considerable restorations have been inserted by that savant, to link together the text, and so render the sense more continuous. Some of these may be due to a better copy ; others are necessary restorations ; the rest are more or less conjectural. Besides this are several other newly discovered inscriptions of the period of the 22nd dynasty ; but as the present volume closes the series of the "RECORDS OF THE PAST," there is not space for their insertion in the series.



## INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE NIMROD.

- 1 The great chief of chiefs, SHASHANQ justified, his son upon the place, glorious like his father OSIRIS, he gave his beauties within Nifur,<sup>1</sup> facing (the temple of OSIRIS) Thou gavest his Majesty to receive an old age, he was made
- 2 . . . . over his companions, thou wast giving in peace festivals to his Majesty to receive all power at once. The god assented very much. Again, his Majesty said before the great god, "Oh, my good lord, thou hast (shouldest) destroy. . . .
- 3 the troops, the officers, all persons, all scribes, the messengers to the country, the fields, all who plundered the things of its lord, of the table of the OSIRIS, chief of the MA,<sup>2</sup> NAMRUTH, justified, the son of MENTEMUSKH, who is in in Abydos; all
- 4 the men who shall be diminishing his divine supplies, his men, his herds of cattle, his gardens, all his sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> All his glories and his men thy great spirits will complete, completing the women,
- 5 children. Assented the god. His Majesty kissed the ground before him. Said his Majesty. Give effect to the word of SHASHANQ, the great chief of the MA, Chief of chiefs, the great noble chief, with all which are with thee
- 6 (him), all thy troops. . . . . all there was. Lo! AMEN-RA, the King of the gods said to him, "I have done for thee, that thou art receiving a good old age established on

<sup>1</sup> Metropolis of the 8th Nome, part of Abydos.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch reads *Mat*, people, which he considers to be the Assyrian word *Matuti*, and hence Assyrians. Mariette *Mo[shuash]* or *Maxyes*. "Egypt under the Pharaohs." Lond. 1881. 2nd Ed. Vol.II. p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> All this is apparently future, a kind of imprecation.

- earth, thy race shall be on thy throne for ever. His Majesty ordered the statue of the Osirian great chief  
 7 of the MA, the great Chief of chiefs, NAMRUTH, justified, to be brought to Abydos. There was . . . . . many soldiers for its transport,<sup>1</sup> having keels . . . . . Their.<sup>2</sup> They were received<sup>3</sup> together with the envoys of the great chief of the MA, making it to be placed in the great  
 8 palace, the shrine, the West eye of the Sun,<sup>4</sup> making its sacrifices on the table of Nifur, when was brought the instruction for making its offerings, giving incense to it at the doors of the temples three days, appointing its dues in  
 9 the chamber of writings. According to the words of the Lord of the gods, he set up a stone tablet in the land (of Abydos)<sup>5</sup> bearing<sup>6</sup> the order of him who hides his name,<sup>7</sup> causing it to be placed in the shrines of the gods to remain<sup>8</sup> for ever and ever: was (made), the setting up the table of the Osirian great chief of the MA,  
 10 NAMRUTH, justified, son of MEHTEMUSKH, which is in the land of Abydos. Brought the men of the . . . . . of the great chief of the MA, who came with the rock statue<sup>9</sup> of the land of Kharu, the auditor of complaints,<sup>10</sup> KHUAMEN, *the chief of the land of*  
 11 Kharu, BEQTAH. Fifteen pounds<sup>11</sup> of silver his Majesty gave for them twenty pounds of silver, total thirty-five pounds of silver. The assignment which is for the revenue

<sup>1</sup> *ken f*, erroneously given, *en next f*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nen*, "not." Doubtful if not error for *sen*, "their."

<sup>3</sup> *Rta*, to give, receive or place.

<sup>4</sup> The western shrine.

<sup>5</sup> Or Nifur.

<sup>6</sup> According to.

<sup>7</sup> Amen Ra, or Osiris.

<sup>8</sup> *San*.

<sup>9</sup> *Aruma pa tut*. Brugsch reads this as a proper name, "a Phœnician."  
 "Egypt under the Pharaohs." Lond. 1881. Vol. II. p. 209.

<sup>10</sup> *Satemas'*, a judge.

<sup>11</sup> *Uten*.

50 aruræ, which are on the borders<sup>1</sup> of the south land of Abydos, called Heh-

12 suti; five pounds of silver for the *fields* which are by the canal of Abydos, a field of 50 aruræ<sup>2</sup> they make five pounds of silver, total of fields of the children north of the place on the confines of the south land of Abydos, with the heights

13 of the north of Abydos fields, 100 aruræ. It makes ten pounds of silver . . . . . his workman PAUR, son of . . . . his slave ABEK, his slave BUPIAMENKHA, his slave NASHENUNAS, his slave TENNA,<sup>3</sup> total

14 of slaves six, making three pounds one ounce of silver . . . . . 20 + 10 + x pounds of silver. . . . . PASHERIEN-KHONS, son of HORSI-ESI, they make four ounces of silver and two-thirds of an ounce. The garden which is in the northern heights of Abydos makes two pounds of silver, the gardener, HARMES, justified,<sup>4</sup> the son of PENMER,

15 makes two-thirds of an ounce of silver, PENAMAU, justified, his son<sup>5</sup> HARENPA (making) six ounces two-third ounces of silver. The . . . . .<sup>6</sup> NASTATEP, justified, his mother TATAIMUT, the female slave TATATESSI, daughters of NEBTPEP, her mother, ARI-

16 AMAKH, the female slave, TAPIARAMENF . . . . . daughters of PANEHSI, justified, each one five ounces two thirds of an ounce, the price of the person making three pounds two-thirds charged on the treasury, likewise a hin<sup>7</sup> measure of honey issued from the treasury

<sup>1</sup> *Au*, heights. Brugsch

<sup>2</sup> *Sut*.

<sup>3</sup> Brugsch reads Pashenhar.

<sup>4</sup> He had died, but was paid.

<sup>5</sup> Or slave.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps *rut*, cultivator.

<sup>7</sup> The hin was about a pint.



- 17 to the lord . . . . . the chief<sup>1</sup> great chief . . . . . son  
of . . . . . the chief . . . . . the men, charged is the  
silver to the treasury of OSIRIS, there are neither attach-  
ments<sup>2</sup> nor diminutions. The load of incense.<sup>3</sup>
- 18 . . . . . four pounds of silver charged to the treasury  
of OSIRIS, also four ounces of incense shall be issued  
from the treasury of OSIRIS daily for the divine supply of  
the Osirian great chief, of the AAMU NAMRUTH, justified,  
whose mother is MEHTENUSKH for ever and ever
- 19 . . . . . of the . . . . . incense, the silver is charged to  
the treasury of OSIRIS, there are neither attachments  
nor diminutions . . . . . makes five ounces two-thirds  
of an ounce charged to the treasury of OSIRIS. Also shall  
be issued . . . . . x +
- 20 two-thirds of an ounce of (oil) from the treasury of  
OSIRIS for the lamp<sup>4</sup> of the Osirian great chief of the MA  
NAMRUTH, justified, whose mother is MEHTEMUSKH, for  
ever and ever, for the coming forth of the perfume the  
silver is charged on the treasury of OSIRIS, there are no  
attachments<sup>5</sup> nor
- 21 deductions . . . . . person . . . . . persons two,  
each one three ounces of silver, together with silver, one  
ounce charged on the treasury of OSIRIS, likewise the  
*meat* . . . . . issued daily from . . . . .
- 22 the treasury of OSIRIS and the . . . . . of OSIRIS for  
the altar of the Osirian chief of the MA NAMRUTH,  
justified, whose mother is MEHTENUSKH, for ever and  
ever, for the workmen of the . . . . . of the cooking of

<sup>1</sup> Here usual titles of Namruth

<sup>2</sup> Or *meh* augmentation.

<sup>3</sup> *Fa seneler*.

<sup>4</sup> *xebs*, lighting up of the statue. Brugsch reads "burning "

<sup>5</sup> *Nast*. Brugsch reads this sentence "neither more or less."

the food, of which the silver is also charged to the treasury of OSIRIS.

23 . . . . . of the corn of the fields upper . . . . . also charged to the treasury of OSIRIS, there is no attachment nor deduction total of the silver which is for the men which is charged for the treasury of OSIRIS.

24 . . . . . each person one with another will be the . . . . . issued from the treasury for the *altars* of the Osirian chief of the MA, Chief of the chiefs, NAMRUTH, justified, son of the great chief of the MA, SHASHANQ, justified, whose mother is MEHTENUSKH, given to

25 . . . . . of the Osirian great chief of the MA, NAMRUTH, justified, son of MEHTENUSKH, who is in Abydos, a field of 100 acres; persons, male and female, 25; garden, 1, silver, 102 pounds . . . . . additional.





## SPOLIATION OF TOMBS.

XXTH DYNASTY.

---

 TRANSLATED BY
P. J. DE HORRACK.  


---

THE papyrus, of which a translation here follows, was purchased in the year 1857 from Dr. Abbott of Cairo, by the Trustees of the British Museum, and in 1860 a facsimile, preceded by an excellent preface from the pen of Dr. S. Birch, was published by them in the *Select Papyri in the Hieratic character*. This eminent Egyptologist had already in 1859 drawn the attention of the scientific public to this ancient document by giving an account of it in the *Revue Archéologique* (Tome XVI. p. 257), under the title of *Le Papyrus Abbott, par S. Birch, traduction de F. Chabas*. Since that time, and nearly simultaneously, two complete French translations have been published—one by M. F. Chabas, Chalon-sur-Saône, 1870, in his *Mélanges Égyptologiques* (troisième série, Tome I.); the other by M. G. Maspero, Paris, 1871,

entitled *Une enquête judiciaire à Thebes au temps de la XX. Dynastie*. Both translations are accompanied by an analysis, and the latter by a transcription of the hieratic text and an interlinear version.

The MS. consists of seven pages of clear and bold handwriting, regular at the commencement, but less carefully written as it approaches the end, until it becomes almost illegible on the endorsement which is not reproduced here, as it merely contains a list of names of no special importance for the present publication.

This valuable document throws considerable light upon the administration of justice in ancient Egypt, and shows the entire course of proceedings in a criminal case under the reign of Rameses IX. The style is clear and the action goes on in a connected and regular way. But what makes the sense of the translation somewhat ambiguous on a first reading is the difficulty of rendering it literally, and at the same time in good English, as the sentences are very long and frequently interrupted by explanatory phrases.



## SPOILIATION OF TOMBS.

## PAGE I.

- 1 (The 16th year,)<sup>1</sup> the 18th day of Athyr, in the reign of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two countries, NEFER-KA-RA SOTEP-EN-RA, the son of the Sun, Lord of Diadems,
- 2 (RAMESSU KHA-EM-UAS) MERER-AMEN, Beloved of AMEN-RA, the King of the gods, and of HAR-EM-AKHU, who gives life eternally and for ever.
- 3 (On that day were sent) the Examiners of the august necropolis, the Scribe of the Nomarch and the Scribe of the Overseer of the King's treasury,
- 4 (to the monuments) and chapels of the royal ancestors, and to the sepulchres and resting-places of the chanters
- 5 (and mourners) which are in the West-quarter of the city, by the Nomarch KHA-EM-UAS  
the royal Controller, NES-SU-AMEN, Scribe of the King,
- 6 (the Major-domo) of the abode of the divine adorer of AMEN-RA, the King of the gods,  
the royal Controller NEFER-KA-RA-EM-PA-AMEN, Reporter of the King,
- 7 (in order to investigate) concerning what the thieves had done in the West-quarter of the city, on which subject the Commandant, Chief of the Police, PA-AU-AA, of the very august Necropolis
- 8 (of millions of years, of the) King, which is in the West of Thebes, had reported to the Nomarch, the Magistrates and the Examiners of the King.

<sup>1</sup> The words enclosed in brackets, thus, ( ) replace lacunæ.

- 9 (Functionaries) who went on that day with the Commandant, Chief of the Police, PA-AU-AA, of the necropolis:  
 10 the . . . . .<sup>1</sup> BEK-FN-UR-INRU, of the palace,  
 11 . . . . .<sup>1</sup> of the necropolis,  
 12 . . . . .<sup>1</sup> of the palace,  
 13 . . . . .<sup>1</sup> of the palace,  
 10B the Chief of the Police, MLNFC-KHOP-SH-LF, of the palace,  
 11B the Scribe PA-A-EN-BAUK-HOR, of the Nomarch,  
 12B the great Scribe of the Store-house, PA-M-LLK, of the Overseer of the Treasury,  
 13B the Prophet PA-AN-KHAU, of the temple of AMEN-HOTEP,  
 14 the Prophet SAR-AMEN, of the temple of AMEN, of the cellars,  
 15 the Police-officers of the necropolis, who were with them.

## PAGE II.

- 1 Monuments, chapels and sepulchres examined on that day by the Examiners:  
 2 The eternal horizon<sup>2</sup> of King SAR-KA, son of the Sun, AMEN-HOTEP, which is 120 cubits  
 3 deep in its principal chamber, the long corridor belonging to it being at the north of the temple of AMEN-HOTEP  
 4 of the vineyard, of which the Commandant PA-SAR, of the city, had made a report to the Nomarch KHA-IM-UBA,  
 5 the royal Controller NES-SU-AMEN, Scribe of the King,

<sup>1</sup> Lacunæ.<sup>2</sup> The tomb.<sup>3</sup> The one in which the mummy is deposited.

- the Major-domo of the abode of the divine adorer of AMEN-RA, the King of the gods,
- 6 and the royal Controller NEFER-KA-RA-EM-PA-AMEN, Reporter of the King, (all) high Magistrates, saying :
- 7 "The thieves have violated it." Examined on that day, it was found intact by the Examiners.
- 8 The monument of King SA-RA AN-AA, which is at the North of the temple of AMEN-HOTEP of the terrace.
- 9 This tomb is injured on the surface opposite the spot where the tablet is placed ,
- 10 on the tablet is the image of the King, in a standing position, having between his feet his greyhound
- 11 named BEHHUKA. Examined on that day, it was found in good condition.
- 12 The monument of King NUB-KHEPER-RA, son of the Sun, ANTUF, was found to have been
- 13 pierced by the hands of the thieves, who had made a hole of two cubits and a half in its surrounding wall, and (a hole of) one cubit
- 14 in the great outside-chamber of the sepulchre of the Chief of the transportation of the offerings, AURI, of Pa-Amen,
- 15 which (tomb) is in ruins. It was in good condition, the thieves not having been able to penetrate into it.
- 16 The monument of King RA-SEKHEM-EM-APU-MA, son of Sun, ANTUF-AA. It was found
- 17 to have been pierced by the hands of the thieves at the spot where the tablet of the monument is fixed.
- 18 Examined on that day, it was found entire, the thieves not having been able to penetrate into it.



## PAGE III.

- 1 The monument of King RA-SEKHEM-SESHUT-IAUI, son of the Sun, SEBAK-EM-SAU-EF.
- 2 It was found that the thieves had violated it by undermining the chamber of the perfections<sup>1</sup> of the
- 3 monument, from the great exterior chamber of the sepulchre of the Overseer of the granaries, NEB-AMEN, of the King MEN-KHEPER-RA (THOTMES III.).
- 4 The place of sepulture of the King was found to be void of its occupant; so was the place of sepulture of the principal royal spouse,
- 5 NUB-KHA-S, his royal wife; the thieves had laid hands on them. The Nomarch,
- 6 the Magistrates and Controllers investigated (the matter) and found the thieves having laid hands on them, a fact,
- 7 as far as the King and his royal spouse were concerned.
- 8 The monument of King RA-SEKENEN, son of the Sun, TA-AA. Examined on that day
- 9 by the Examiners, it was found intact.
- 10 The monument of King RA-SEKENEN, son of the Sun, TA-AA-AA, being King TA-AA Second.
- 11 Examined on that day by the Examiners, it was found intact.
- 12 The monument of King UAT-KHEPER-RA, son of the Sun, KA-MES. Examined on that day, it was (found) uninjured.
- 13 The monument of King AHMES SA-PA-AR. Examined and found intact.
- 14 The monument of King NEB-KHER-RA, son of the Sun.

<sup>1</sup> One of the names of the principal chamber of a tomb.

MENTU-HOIEP, which is in the (region of) Sar;<sup>1</sup> it was intact.

- 15 Total of the monuments of the royal ancestors examined on that day by the Examiners ;
- 16 found intact, 9 monuments ; found violated, 1 ; total 10.
- 17 The sepulchres of the pallakides of the abode of the divine adorer of AMEN-RA, the King of the gods ; found intact, 2 ;
- 18 found violated by the thieves, 2 ; total, 4.

#### PAGE IV.

- 1 Sepulchres and chapels in which repose the chanters and mourners, the women and men of the country,
- 2 in the West-quarter of the city. It was found that the thieves had violated them all, that they had torn their occupants
- 3 away from their coffins and cases, had thrown them into the dust and had stolen all the funeral objects which
- 4 had been given to them, as well as the gold and silver and the ornaments which were in their coffins.

- - - - -

- 5 The Commandant, Chief of the Police, PA-AU-AA, of the very august necropolis, as well as the Chiefs of the Police and the Police-officers,
- 6 the Examiners of the necropolis, the Scribe of the Nomarch, the Scribe of the Overseer of the Treasury, who were with them, made a report about (these tombs)<sup>2</sup> to
- 7 the Nomarch KHA-EM-UAS, the royal Controller NES-SU-

<sup>1</sup> A particular quarter of the necropolis of Thebes.

- AMEN, Scribe of the King, the Major-domo of the abode of the divine adorer of
- 8 AMEN-RA, the King of the gods, and the royal Controller NEFER-KA-RA-EM-PA-AMEN, Reporter of the King, (all) high Magistrates.
- 9 The Commandant of the West-quarter, Chief of the Police, PA-AU-AA, of the necropolis, placed the names of the thieves in writing
- 10 before the Nomarch. The Magistrates and Controllers arrested them and put them into prison; they cross-examined them and reported the state of things.
- 

- 11 The 16th year, the 19th day of Athyr. This was the day on which started, in order to examine the great places<sup>1</sup> of the royal children, the royal wives
- 12 and the royal mothers, which are in the abode of the perfected,<sup>2</sup> the Nomarch KHA-EM-UAS, the royal Controller NES-SU-AMEN, Scribe of the King,
- 13 after having received the declaration of the worker in metal,<sup>3</sup> PAI-KHARI, son of KHARUI, born of MAI-SHERAU, of the West-quarter of the city, a man belonging to the servants
- 14 of the temple of USER-MA-RA MERI-AMEN (RAMSES III.) in Pa-Amen, which (temple) is under the direction of the First Prophet of AMEN-RA, the King of the gods, AMEN-HOTEP. This man, who was found on the spot,
- 15 was arrested, he having been (one) of three temple servants who were near the sepulchres, at the time when the Nomarch RA-NEB-MA-NEKHT made

<sup>1</sup> The tombs.

<sup>2</sup> Tombs of the royal family.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, after having been spoken to by the worker in metal.

16 his investigation in the year xiv. ; he said : " I was in the  
tomb of the royal spouse Isis of the King USLR-MA-RA  
MLRI-AMFN (RAMSES III.) ; I took away some  
17 objects and I squandered them." When the Nomarch  
and the Controller had the worker in metal brought  
before them at the

## PAGE V.

1 sepulchres, he was blindfolded as a man to be carefully  
watched ; his sight was restored when he arrived at the  
spot, and the Magistrates  
2 said to him : " Walk before us to the tomb of which you  
said : I took away some objects from it." The worker in  
metal walked before the Magistrates  
3 to a reserve-tomb of the royal children of King USER-  
MA-RA SOTLP-EN-RA (RAMSES II.), the great god ; nobody  
had been interred therein and it had been left open,  
4 as well as the resting-place of the workman AMEN-EM-  
AN, son of HUI, of the necropolis, also situated there.  
And he said : " These are the tombs where I have been."  
5 The Magistrates submitted the worker in metal to a  
complete cross-examination in the interior of the Great  
Valley. It was  
6 found that he was unacquainted with any place there,  
excepting the two on which he had put his hand. He  
pronounced an oath by the sovereign Lord, striking his  
nose  
7 and his ears, and with both hands upon a rod said :  
" I do not know any place within the (funeral) abodes,  
with the exception of the tomb which is open and  
8 the resting-place on which your hand is placed." The

Magistrates examined the tombs and the great places which are the abode of

- 9 the perfected, where repose the royal children, the royal wives, the royal ancestors, the good fathers and mothers of the King.
- 10 They were found in good condition. The high Magistrates despatched the Examiners, the overseers, the workmen of the necropolis, the Chiefs
- 11 of the Police, the Police-officers, and all the servants of the necropolis of the West-quarter of the city, with a grand verdict (of *Not Guilty?*) as far as the city.
- 

12 The 16th year, the 19th day of Athyr. On that day, at the time of evening, near the temple of PTAH, Lord of Thebes, arrived the royal Controller

13 NES-SU-AMEN, Scribe of the King and the Commandant PA-SAR, of the city. They met the Chief of the workmen, USER-KHOPESH, the Scribe AMEN-NEKHITU

14 and the workman AMEN-HOIRPU, of the necropolis. The Commandant of the city spoke to the men of the necropolis in the presence of the Controller of the King

15 as follows: "The statement which you have made this day is not an authentic statement. You will have to suffer for what

16 you have done." Thus he spoke to them. He pronounced an oath by the sovereign Lord, in presence of the Controller of the King, and said: "The Scribe HORA-SHERAU, son of AMEN-NEKHITU,

17 of the necropolis, from the interior of the Khena,<sup>1</sup> and the Scribe PAI-BESA, of the necropolis, have made me five

<sup>1</sup> The buildings pertaining to the residence of the King (according to M. Chabas).

revelations of sayings for which you are accountable, well worthy of death ;  
 18 now I shall place a report on this subject before the King, my master, that the King's men may be sent to destroy you all." So spoke he.

---

- 19 The 16th year, the 20th day of Athyr. Copy of the writing which the Commandant of the West-quarter of the city, Chief of the Police, PA-AU-AA, of the necropolis, placed before the Nomarch,  
 20 relative to the words which the Commandant PA-SAR, of the city, spoke to the men of the necropolis, in presence of the Controller of the King and the Scribe PAI-NETEM, of the Overseer of the Treasury.  
 21 The Commandant, PA-AU-AA, of the West-quarter of the city, said: "The royal Controller, NES-SU-AMEN, Scribe of the King, found himself in company with the Commandant, PA-SAR,  
 22 of the city. He was discoursing with the men of the necropolis, near the temple of PTAH, Lord of Thebes. And the Commandant of the city said to the men

## PAGE VI.

- 1 of the necropolis: "Why were you mirthful on my account at the door of my house? I am the Commandant who makes the reports  
 2 to the Prince. Come! be mirthful in the place where you dwell. When it was examined, *you* found it in good condition, the violated (tomb) of

- 3 RA-SÉKHEM-SESHEI-TAUI, son of the Sun, SÉBEK-EM-SAU-ÉF and NUB-KHA-S, his only royal spouse. By the great Prince!" And
- 4 he pronounced ten oaths by the worth of AMEN-RA, the King of the gods, the great god, whose statues were placed in his sanctuary this day.
- 5 Then, the workman USER-KHOPI-SH, who is under the authority of the chief workman, RETU-EM-MAUI, of the necropolis, spoke as follows: "All the kings and their
- 6 royal spouses, royal mothers and royal children, who repose in the august necropolis, as well as those who repose in the abode of the perfected, are in good condition;
- 7 they are protected and cared for through all eternity; the excellent administration of the King, their child, watches and inspects them
- 8 thoroughly." The Commandant of the city said to him: "You use marvellous language." But the words were not insignificant ones, those spoken by the
- 9 Commandant of the city. Again the Commandant of the city told the words for a second time, saying: "The Scribe HORA-SHERAU, son of AMEN-NEKHITU, of the necropolis, of the interior of
- 10 The Khena (came . . . . .) towards the place where I was, and made me three revelations of very important sayings,
- 11 which my Scribe and the Scribe of the two districts of the city wrote down. Now the Scribe PAI-BESA, of the necropolis, made me
- 12 two other revelations, total, five. They also wrote them down. Concerning them silence cannot be kept; Woe! They are crimes worthy of the hatchet,
- 13 (and that the criminals) be placed on the bed of torture

- and submitted to all sorts of chastisement on account of them. But I shall send a report on this subject before the King, my master,
- 14 that the King's men may be despatched to destroy you." Thus spoke to them the Commandant of the city, and he pronounced ten oaths, saying :
- 15 "Thus shall I do." I heard of the words which the Commandant of the city said to the men of the august necropolis of millions of years, of the
- 16 King, in the West of Thebes, and I make a report of them before my master, as it would be a crime for a man like me
- 17 to hear of words and conceal them. However, I have not been able to get at the highly important words of which *thus* said the Commandant of the
- 18 city: "The Scribes of the interior of the necropolis, who stayed amongst the men (of the necropolis) told them to me." Alas ! I
- 19 did not reach them.<sup>1</sup> I make a report before my master on the subject. Let my master bring forward those who got at the words of which
- 20 the Commandant of the city said : "The Scribes of the necropolis told them to me; I will send a message on the subject before the King." Thus spoke he. It is a crime
- 21 for the two Scribes of the necropolis to have sought out the Commandant of the city, in order to make a report to him, when their fathers had not made him any,
- 22 but brought in their statement to the Nomarch, when he was in the South. But when he was in the North, the Police-officers, attendants of
- 23 his Majesty, of the necropolis, started for the place

<sup>1</sup> Literally, my feet did not reach them.



where the Nomarch was, with their memoranda. I have procured evidence in the 16th year, the 20th day of Athyr,

- 24 concerning the words which had been heard from (the mouth of) the Commandant of the city. I place them in writing before my master, that he may have brought forward those who reached them, immediately the next morning."

## PAGE VII.

- 1 The 16th year, the 21st day of Athyr. On that day, at the great assembly of the city, near the two tablets of AMEN, at the entrance of the court of AMEN, at the door of the adoration
- 2 of the Rekhi;<sup>1</sup> Magistrates who were sitting in the great assembly of the city on this day:
- 3 The Nomarch KHA-EM-UAS, the First Prophet of AMFN-RA, King of the gods, AMEN-HOTEP, the Prophet of AMEN-RA, King of the gods, the Scribe NAS-SU-AMEN, of the temple of millions of years,
- 4 Of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, NEFER-KA-AR SOTFP-EN-RA (RAMSES IX.), the royal Controller NAS-SU-AMEN, Scribe of the King, the Major-domo of the abode of the divine adorer of AMEN-RA, the King of the gods,
- 5 the royal Controller NEFER-KA-RA-EM-PA-AMEN, Reporter of the King, the Captain HORA, of (the cavalry), the Fan-bearer HORA,
- 6 of the Marine, the Commandant PA-SAR, of the city. Then the Nomarch KHA-EM-UAS had brought forward the worker in metal PAI-KHARI, son of KHARUI,

<sup>1</sup> The intellectual part of society.

- 7 the worker in metal TARI, son of KHA-EM-APT, the worker in metal PA-KAMEN, son of TARI, of the temple of USER-MA-RA MERI-AMEN (RAMSES III.) which is under the authority of the First Prophet of AMEN.
- 8 The Nomarch said to the high Magistrates of the grand assembly of the city: "The Commandant of the city said some words to the
- 9 Examiners and workmen of the necropolis, in the 16th year, the 19th day of Athyr, in presence of the royal Controller NES-SU-AMEN, Scribe of the King,
- 10 and slandered concerning the great places which are in the abode of the perfected. Now I, the Nomarch of the country, was there
- 11 with the royal Controller NES-SU-AMEN, Scribe of the King. We examined the places of which the Commandant of the city said: "They have been penetrated by the workers in metal
- 12 of the temple of RA-USER-MA MERI-AMEN." We found them intact, discovering everything he had said to be false. But behold!
- 13 the workers in metal are standing before you. Let them tell all that has happened." They deliberated. It was found that the men
- 14 did not know any place in the abode of the perfected, about which the Commandant of the city had spoken. It was he who had been false in this.
- 15 The high Magistrates accorded the breath of life to the workers in metal, of the temple of USER-MA-RA MERI-AMEN, in Pa-Amen, which (temple) is under the authority of the First Prophet of AMEN-RA, the King of the gods,
- 16 AMEN-HOTEP. On this day a paper was signed for them, and they went to the house of the Scribe of the Nomarch.



# INSCRIPTIONS ON THE STATUE OF BAK-EN-KHONSU.

(XIXth DYNASTY.)

---

TRANSLATED BY  
P. J. DE HORRACK.

---

THE Glyptothek in Munich possesses a fine statue of a High-Priest of Ammon, named Bak-en-Khonsu, who was also Superintendent of Public Works under Seti I. and Ramses II. He is represented, in the Egyptian style, sitting on the ground with his arms folded across his knees. The inscriptions, of which a translation here follows, cover the legs, back, and lower part of the statue. They have already been published and translated by the late Théodule Devéria, *Monument Biographique de Bakenkhonsou*, in the *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, tome premier, Paris, 1862; by Professor J. Lauth, *Der Hohenpriester und Oberbaumeister Bakenchons*, Leipzig, 1863; and by Dr. H. Brugsch-Bey in his *Geschichte Aegyptens*, Leipzig, 1877.

It would appear from the inscriptions (as Devéria justly observes) that Bak-en-Khonsu himself caused his statue to be executed during his lifetime, when he was 86 years of age. Egyptian epitaphs show us many cases in which the deceased appear to extol their own virtues, and in this instance modesty is certainly not predominant in the High-Priest's estimate of his qualifications. Having completed his statue to his satisfaction, and taken care that no meritorious act of his life should be forgotten, he entreats, as a recompense from his god, the favour of a prolonged existence.



## INSCRIPTION COVERING THE BACK OF THE STATUE.

The noble Chief, First Prophet of AMEN, BAK-EN-KHONSU, the justified, says : I was equitable and truthful, a favourite of my master, honouring the precepts of my god, walking in his track, performing acts of beneficence within his temple. I was the great superintendent of public works in PA-AMEN,<sup>1</sup> beloved by my master. Oh, all men having reflection in their minds, oh creatures who are upon earth, and come after me from millions of years to millions of years, after age and decay, whose hearts are contented at the sight of glorious acts, I will inform ye who I was upon earth, in all the functions I filled from the time of my birth : I was four years in extreme infancy ; I was twelve years in youth ; I was made steward by King RA-MEN-MA [SETI I.]; I was priest of AMEN for four years ; I was divine father of AMEN for twelve years ; I was third prophet of AMEN for fifteen years ; I was second prophet of AMEN for twelve [years]. He [the King] rewarded me ; he distinguished me for my merit ; he appointed me first prophet of AMEN, [which I was] for twenty-seven years. I was a good father to my temple servants, providing for their families, tendering the hand to those who were miserable, sustaining those who were inferior, and performing glorious acts in his [the King's] temple. I was the great superintendent of public works of the KHENT of Thebes to his son, issued from his loins, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, RA-USER-MA

<sup>1</sup> Part of Thebes, situated on the left bank of the Nile.

SOTH-EN-RA, the son of the Sun, RAMESSE-MIRI-AMEN [RAMSES II.], who giveth life. [He] erected monuments to his father AMEN, who placed him on his throne; he did it through the First prophet of AMEN, BAK-EN-KHONSU, the justified. He [BAK-EN-KHONSU] says: I performed glorious deeds in the temple of AMEN, as superintendent of public works of my master; I made him a sacred pylon [named] "RAMESSE-UTT-AMEN, WHO BOOTHETH UNTO THE FLEETIVER," at the upper doorway of the temple of AMEN. I had obelisks in granite erected near it: their summits reach the firmament. The front building beneath it is of stone, and faces Thebes. The reservoirs and gardens are planted with trees. I constructed huge gilt coons; their summits join the sky. I made lofty flagstaves, I had them raised in the noble court in front of his temple. I launched large boats into the river for AMEN, MIRI and KHONSU.

By the noble Chief, First Prophet of AMEN,

BAK-EN-KHONSU.



# INSCRIPTION COVERING THE LEGS OF THE STATUE.

"May AMEN-RA, TUM, HOR-EM-AKHUI, the soul of heaven, living in truth, the AKHEM<sup>1</sup> in his boat, MUT, the great, the protectress of the two regions, and KHONSU-NEFER-HOIRP grant a royal table of offerings; may they grant that my name be established in Thebes, and remain stable to all eternity; [may they grant this] to me, the noble Chief, the leader of the prophets of all the gods, First Prophet of AMEN in Ape,<sup>2</sup> BAK-EN-KHONSU, justified."

He says: Oh prophets, divine fathers and priests of PA-AMEN, present flowers to my statue and libations to my body. I was the virtuous slave of my master, possessing equity and sincerity, rejoicing in truth, hating evil and developing the precepts of my god, I, the First Prophet of AMEN, BAK-EN-KHONSU.

<sup>1</sup> Name of the mummified hawk, a special form of Horus.

<sup>2</sup> A quarter of Thebes, on the right bank of the Nile.





INSCRIPTION COVERING THE LOWER PART  
OF THE STATUE.

The noble Chief, First Prophet of AMEN, BAK-EN-KHONSU, [justified. He says :] I am he who possesseth truth, the virtuous slave of my god, who approacheth him in his turn, who giveth. . . . .<sup>1</sup>

Youth or married man who [art yet] in life, may the happiness of to-day surpass that of yesterday, and (the same) to-morrow; may it increase more than mine. I was, from youth to old age, within the temple of AMEN, in the service (of my god), contemplating his face. May he bestow upon me a happy existence of one hundred and ten years.

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna.



## THE PAPYRUS, I. 371, OF LEYDEN.

---

TRANSLATED BY  
G. MASPERO.

---

THIS papyrus was found in one of the Theban tombs. It was tied to a wooden statuette of "The singer-woman of Ammon, *Kena* . . . ." The name on the statue, *Kena* . . . , being, not the name on the papyrus, *Onkhari*, it is evident that the statue had not been made in the first instance for the woman whom it was supposed to afterwards represent. It came probably from an older tomb which had been rifled of its contents by robbers, and was sold second-hand to the husband of Onkhari.

The style of the writing brings us to the last years of the XXth dynasty, and perhaps to the time of Sheshonq. A facsimile has been published by M. Leemans in *Monuments Égyptiens du Musée de Leyde*, Tom. II. pl. 183-184. A short analysis was given by M. Chabas in his *Notices Sommaires*; a transcription, translation and complete commentary will be found in the *Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin, 1880, and in the 2nd fasc. of my *Études Égyptiennes*.

In it we have a husband complaining of the evil condition he is in, three years at least after he became a widower, telling how considerately he had acted towards his wife, and contrasting his conduct with hers. The nature of the evil he suffered he does not state very explicitly: perhaps he was afflicted with some illness which he attributed to the malignity of his departed consort, perhaps he thought she came back from the other world expressly to torment him. The whole case reminds me of the curious actions the Norsemen of the Middle Ages brought against ghosts: they accused, judged, and found guilty dead persons who, as they said, rose from the tomb to haunt the house they had lived in. Though the Leyden Papyrus is not an official document, it seems to me to have a judicial character, and to relate to some matter of the same kind. The husband sues "the wise spirit" of his wife, and forbids it to inflict on him persecutions which no anterior ill-usage ever justified. To transmit the writ unto Ament, he probably read it aloud in the tomb, and then tied it to the statue which was supposed to represent his wife: she received the summons in the same way she was accustomed to receive the prayers and food which were given to her statue at certain times of the year.

•

TO THE WISE SPIRIT OF ONKHARI.<sup>1</sup>

What offence have I committed against thee that I must come to this the evil condition which I am in? What offence have I committed against thee that thou must help<sup>2</sup> against me? For, since I became a husband to thee, until to-day, what I have done to thee that I kept secret? What am I to do, when I shall have to give my evidence [as to] what I have done to thee, when I shall stand with [thee] before [the judge,] in words of my mouth [directed] to the cycle of the gods of Ament, and thou shalt be judged through this writing—viz., [through] the words of my complaint against what thou hast done, what wilt thou do? When [thou] becamest my wife, I was a young man, I was with [thee]. I was promoted to offices of every kind, [and] I was with [thee], I never deserted [thee], I never caused any grief to thy heart. I acted thus when I was a young man; when I was promoted to every great dignity of PHARAOH, l. h. s., I did not desert thee, saying: "Let this be thine in common with me!" And whereas everybody who came to me saw me in thy presence, I never received anybody before knowing whether thou wouldst have anything to say to it, saying: "I will act according to thy heart." And now, behold, thou hast not gladdened my heart, and I must plead against thee, and people shall see the false from the true. For behold, I commanded the captains of the bowmen of PHARAOH, l. h. s., also of his

<sup>1</sup> Spirits were called *agrou*—viz., *instructed* in every prayer or science; and *âprou*—viz., *furnished* with every weapon or thing which was necessary to them in the other world.

<sup>2</sup> Here, as in some other passages, I have given only a paraphrase: for a literal translation see the notes in *Journal Asiatique* or *Etudes Egyptiennes*.

charioteers, and I, when they came to lie on their belly before thee, if there was, in what they brought, something good, I put it before [thee], I never hid anything for myself. . . . . I never shewed myself offensive to thy feelings in whatever I did to thee in the way of a master; I never was found being rude to thee in the way of a clown who enters another's house; I never took any account of what thou didst [to] me. When I was put into the place which I am in, when I came to know no more [what it was] to go out as was my wont [before], and to do what I had to do as one who is a recluse, when my oil, also my bread, also my clothes were brought me, I never put [thee] in another place, saying: "What would become of the woman;" and I never was rude to thee, and behold, thou didst not recognize the good I did thee, and I . . . . . of the things which thou didst. And when thou didst sicken of the sickness which thou hadst, I went to the chief physician, and he prescribed, and he did what thou toldest him to do. And when I went to follow PHARAOH l. h. s. to the South, whereas my wont was to be reunited with thee, while I made my stay of eight months, I never ate, never drank in the way of a man. And when I reached Memphis, I asked leave from PHARAOH, l. h. s., and I did what they were doing to thee, I wept extremely with my people in front of my dwelling, I gave clothes and linen for thy embalming, and I caused many clothes to be made, and there was nothing good I did not cause to be done for thee. And behold, I passed three years . . . . . and I never entered the house, and I used not to cause that to be done which was ordinary, and behold, I acted thus because of thee! And behold, I do not know any more good from evil, and thou shalt be judged with me! And behold, as long as the lamentations lasted in the house, I never went in to PHARAOH l. h. s. . . . .

INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN HATASU ON  
THE BASE OF THE GREAT OBELISK  
OF KARNAK.

---

TRANSLATED BY

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

---

**H**ATASU (commonly, but erroneously called Hatshepu, Hashepu, or Hashop,<sup>1</sup> by very excellent scholars) was the daughter of King Thothmes I. of

<sup>1</sup> The untenableness of these readings is manifest on the mere inspection of the variants of the name (see Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de Noms Hieroglyphiques*, p. 105). The syllabic sign, which in this proper name, as in the simple adjective, is written either with or without *s*, as a phonetic complement, cannot possibly at this time have had the value *s'ep* (not *s'eps*) which was given to it in the base period. This very obelisk furnishes examples of the simple adjective without the complementary *s*: *netar pen as*, "this august God;" *as't as*, "the venerable persea," where it would be absurd to read *s'ep*. When the Egyptians of the base period used this sign in writing the word *s'eps*, they added the *s*, not as a phonetic complement (which it could not possibly be), but as an independent letter necessary for the completion of the word.

the eighteenth dynasty, and the sister of Thothmes II. and Thothmes III. She was raised to the throne by her father, who associated her with him, as appears from one of his inscriptions, in which he gives her the royal name Māt-ka-rā, and calls her Queen of the South and of the North.<sup>1</sup> She married her brother Thothmes II., by whom she had a daughter, called Hatasu like herself, who became the wife of her uncle Thothmes III. After the death of her father she reigned as sole sovereign, but Thothmes II. after a time was recognized as having a share, in the sovereignty, and he finished by throwing off her authority, and caused her name to be hammered out of the royal inscriptions. She recovered her authority after his death, and ruled conjointly with Thothmes III., but after the twenty-fourth year of the latter his name alone appears on the monuments, and he

<sup>1</sup> The Sun-god's path from East to West was supposed to divide space into Two Worlds, that of the South and that of the North. The King of Egypt, as son and heir of the Sun-god, claimed to be ruler of the Two Worlds—that is, of the entire universe.

showed his resentment against her by striking her name out of the inscriptions.

The monuments of this queen are among the most beautiful productions of Egyptian art, and the obelisk from which the following inscription is taken is without its rival in form, colour, and beauty of engraving. The inscription has been published in part in Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* (pl. 50); more completely in Prisse's *Monuments* (pl. 18) and in Lepsius' *Denkmäler* (Abth. III., pl. 22). Some parts of it have unfortunately suffered injury, and it is most desirable that the accuracy of the text should be verified by some scholar who is conscious of the difficulties which the existing copies present to the translator. I am unable to say whether or not this was done by the late M. de Rougé, who gave a translation of this inscription in his lectures of 1872. (See *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, Tome III., p. 90.) There are passages of this translation which cannot be considered as exactly giving the sense of the original represented in our copies. But



this original presents such extremely unusual grammatical constructions that I am disposed to suspect the accuracy of the text, and I have retained M. de Rougé's version, which, if not made upon a more correct text, at least furnishes the best solution which so eminent a scholar has discovered of these difficulties. I have, however, not hesitated to make such corrections as appeared to be necessary.



## SOUTH SIDE.

- 1 Love the HORUS,<sup>1</sup> abounding in divine gifts,<sup>2</sup> the Mistress  
of diadems, rich in years, the golden HORUS, goddess of  
diadems, Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt; MAT-KA-  
RA, daughter of the Sun, HATASU, consort of AMON, living  
for ever and ever, daughter of AMON, dwelling in his  
heart,
- 2 his only one, who hath been formed for him; glorious  
image of the universal Lord; whom the spirits of Helio-  
polis have created. Her beauty hath taken hold of the  
Two Worlds as he hath done. He hath formed her to  
bear his diadems,
- 3 the form of forms like CHEPERA, the crowned of all the  
crowned, like the god of both horizons, pure egg which hath  
come forth in glory, nursed by URIT-HEKAU,<sup>3</sup> Mistress  
of diadems, crowned by AMON himself
- 4 upon his throne in Hermonthis. He hath selected her  
for the protection of Egypt, and for securing the victory  
to the Pat and the Rechit,<sup>2</sup> HORUS the avenger of her  
father, the elder of his mother's husband,
- 5 whom RA hath engendered to produce a glorious seed  
upon earth, and to give happiness to the Hamemet.<sup>2</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> *L'Horus vivante*, Rougé. But the position of the word *ānχ* before the  
god's name proves it to be a verb (*vivat*!), not an adjective or participle.

<sup>2</sup> *Ku*, "genius," in the classical and mythological sense, was from very early  
times used also in the more modern sense of "genius considered as a divine  
gift."

<sup>3</sup> *Urit-hekau*, "great in words of power," a title given to Isis, the queen  
of incantations and spells. The nursing of Horus is attributed to Isis  
Nephthys and Ap-uat (commonly but erroneously called Apheiu)

- living image, the Queen of the South and of the North  
 MAT-KA-RA the *smu*-metal<sup>1</sup> of kings,  
 6 she hath made this as a monument to her father AMON,  
 lord of the thrones of the Two Worlds, dwelling in the  
 Apt; and hath made for him two great obelisks of hard  
 granite of the South, the summit of each is of the *smu*  
 metal (the tribute)  
 7 of the best quality of all countries; they are seen at a  
 distance of many leagues, the Two Worlds are bathed  
 in their splendours. The sun's disk shines between them  
 as when it rises from the horizon of heaven.  
 8 I have done this from a heart full of love for my divine  
 father AMON. I have entered upon the way in which  
 he conducted me from the beginning, all my efforts were  
 according to his mighty spirits, I have not opposed  
 anything which he hath predestined.

## WEST.

- 1 My Majesty knoweth his might,<sup>2</sup> and I have therefore  
 acted according to his command. He hath directed me,  
 I have not ordered the works . . . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *smu*-metal, which, from the uses to which it was applied, appears to me to be copper, is supposed by Dr. Lepsius to be electrum, whilst M. Chabas holds it to be a mere synonym of gold.

<sup>2</sup> *Ma majesté connaît sa divinité*, Rougé. The queen in this part of the inscription uses masculine pronouns; but in this phrase there is a false concord, if the masculine suffix after *neterer* applies to "my Majesty," which has the feminine ending. And the word for "divinity" is nowhere else written *neterer*.

<sup>3</sup> *Je n'ai rien fait sans lui*, Rougé. The original both in Prisse and

- 2 he it is who hath given the regulations, there was no wisdom of mine for his temple, I have not transgressed his ordinances, my heart was full of the intelligence of my father. I have entered
- 3 into his designs, I have not neglected the business of the Universal Lord, I have on the contrary applied myself to it, for I know that Thebes is a heaven upon earth,
- 4 it is the august staircase of the beginning of time, it is the *ut'at*<sup>1</sup> of the Universal Lord, his heart's throne, which sustains his glories and holds within it all who accompany him. The king himself, he saith,
- 5 I make this known to the Hamemet<sup>2</sup> who will live in

construction would be identical with *em an rexa*, "I know not," in the first line on the north side. Here *em* (like the Greek *οτι*) is used to introduce a quotation, and is omitted in translation.

<sup>1</sup> *Ut'at*. The *ut'at* of the sun was said to be *complete* or *full* when one of the vertical points of his yearly course was reached.

<sup>2</sup> *Pait rexit*, translated "hommes purs" by M. de Rougé. The explanations hitherto given of the words *pait*, *rexit* and *hamemet* (sometimes *hamemut*) are far from satisfactory. That the words denote human beings (of both sexes) is most probable. But they neither mean "men" simply, nor classes of the population, such as "hommes éclairés" "initiated," &c. There is an enumeration in *Todt.*, 42, 11, of "*men*, gods, glorified beings (*χθ*), the damned, the *pait*, the *rexit*, the *hamemet*, &c." The *pait* are distinctly mentioned as inhabiting the nether world, either the Aukertu, as in the hymn to Amon (Boulaq, v. 3) or the Tuat (Rhind Papyri, 31, 9, hieratic text) The demotic text corresponding to the last reference clearly signifies "those who have gone before." The *hamemet*, on the other hand, are not less distinctly spoken of as living in a time later than the present; see, *l.c.*, in this very inscription, the 5th line on the western side of the obelisk. The king is crowned lord and master of the *rexit* (Dumichen, *Hist. Insch.*, pl. 39; *Zeitschr. f. aegypt. Spr.* 1874, taf. 1, l. 10, 11), "in face of the Hamemet." I believe that these three classes of beings are the generations *past*, *present* and *future*.

- the double period,<sup>1</sup> and whose hearts will inquire after this monument which I have made for my father.
- 6 and who will talk inquiringly as they gaze upon it.  
I who sit in the palace remember who hath made me ;
- 7 my heart hath hastened to make for him two obelisks of *smu*-metal, whose tops reach into the sky in the august hall of columns which is between
- 8 the two great pylones of the King, the victorious Bull, the King of the South and of the North, RA-CHEPER-KA-RA,<sup>2</sup> the triumphant . . . . . the words of men now living.

## NORTH.

- 1 When they see my monument in the course of years, and speak of what I have done, beware of saying " I know not, I know not."
- 2 This has been done by covering the stone with gold all over. It is thus that it has been done. I swear it by the love of RA and the favour of
- 3 my father AMON, who invigorateth my nostrils with life and strength. I bear the white crown, I am diademed with the red crown ; the two HORUS gods have united for me
- 4 the two divisions. I rule over this land like the son of ISIS, I am victorious like the son of NUT. The Sun-god RA reposes in the *Sekti*<sup>3</sup> boat, he rests in
- 5 the Atet boat, he consorts with his two mothers, the URÆUS goddesses in the divine ship ; the earth is fixed,

<sup>1</sup> *Henti*, a period of a hundred and twenty years, here "the time to come."

<sup>2</sup> Thothes I.

<sup>3</sup> The *sekti* is the morning boat of the Sun god, *atet* the evening boat. The forms *ma-sekti* and *ma-atet* are also found.

- the heaven is made stable. He hath granted that I should be for ever like him who changeth not.<sup>1</sup> I rest  
 6 in life like Atmu. I have (offered) the two obelisks wrought with *smu*-metal to father AMON with the intent that  
 7 my name should remain permanent in this temple for ever and ever. They are of a single stone of granite, without any joining  
 8 or division in them. My Majesty began to work at this in the 15th year,<sup>2</sup> and the first day of Mechir till the 16th year and the last day of Messori, making seven months since the beginning of it in the mountain.

## EAST.

- 1 I have made them for him in satisfaction of heart, for it is the King of all the gods to whom I pray. I have had them covered with *smu*-metal which I have put  
 2 upon the top of them. . . . . I ignore the talk of men; my own mouth is perfect in all that cometh forth from it; I do not retract what I have said.  
 3 Listen ye, therefore; I have put *smu*-metal upon them (till the extremity) measured in ingots and sacs. It is I who have proclaimed the quantity, so that  
 4 the Two Worlds may see, and that the ignorant man as well as the wise may know it. No one who heareth this can contradict what I have said,  
 5 but will say, "She hath been established as truthful before her father," and the god knows that which is within me.

<sup>1</sup> Osiris Sahu.

<sup>2</sup> The years of a king count, not from the 1st Thoth, but from the day of his coronation.

AMON, the Lord of thrones, he hath granted that I should reign

6 over Egypt and the Red Land because of this. I am not revolted against in all the plains · all the countries are subject to me. He hath made my bounds

7 as far as the limits of heaven, the course of the sun's disk is at my service, he hath given it to her who is before him; he knoweth that I offer it to him, I his daughter

8 who exist in truth and glorify him. He it was who destined me to favour before my father, the living, the stable, the strong, upon the throne of HORUS and of all the living, like the Sun-god for ever.



## SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION OF PANEHSI.

---

 TRANSLATED BY

E. L. LUSHINGTON, D.C.L., LL.D.

---

THE following inscription was found in a tomb near Memphis, and formed part of the Passalacqua collection at Berlin. It was first published by Dr. Brugsch in his *Monumens de l'Égypte*, pl. 3, with an accompanying translation, and later by Dr. Reinisch, in his *Ägyptische Chrestomathie*, pl. 15. It contains a hymn to the Sun-god Ra, put into the mouth of the deceased Panehsi, designated as scribe or registrar of the table in Royal Apt, which Brugsch



in his *Dict. Geogr.*, p. 21, explains as the quarter of the royal harem at Memphis. Something is lost from the upper end of the tablet, which may have once had a figure of Panchsi presenting himself with suppliant gestures before Osiris the judge of the dead, attended by members of his family. The monument is dedicated by his son Apherumes,<sup>1</sup> himself a scribe attached to the Court, *making his father's name live*, as he expresses it, in a conventional formula of frequent occurrence in sepulchral monuments. A few characters only in two or three places have become illegible.

The hymn abounds in reiterated phrases, constantly found in similar compositions, descriptive of the Sun-god's triumphal progress through heaven, showering blessings on the earth, and visiting with his penetrating radiance the under-world. His boat of morning,

<sup>1</sup> This name formerly read as above, but the god's title, *Aph ru*, is now usually accepted as *Apmatennu*, or *Aḫ matu*.

at of evening, Aat, receive the god each at season. The Egyptian notion of a vessel of sun on the other side of the earth from during the hours of night, may have been introduced to the Greeks, if not earlier, at least of Psammetichus, and it was readily congenial to their versatile imagination. An incident in which it is said to occur, in the *monachia* of an unknown author, might be a later date for its introduction ; but the version preserved to us in the elegies of Callimachus comes very near to this epoch. This is the story of " Helios has toil allotted to him for all day, no rest for his steeds or himself after rosy-work ; he has climbed the sky ; for his much-valued couch of costly gold, made by the hands of Hephaestus, upheld by wings, bears him to wave on the topmost flood, sleeping by night in the region of Hesperides to the land

of Aethiopes, where his swift car and horses stand till early dawn may arrive, when he mounts another carriage." Later poets took up the fancy, and told how Helios lent his golden bowl, that was wont to bear himself, for Hercules to traverse in it the waste of ocean, on his daring raid upon Geryon's herds in Erytheia. Many of them may have had no suspicion of the source whence the original idea sprung, before it passed into distant regions ; nor might modern readers have guessed its birthplace if the Egyptian language had not been recovered.



## NEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION OF PANEHSI.

(Adoration to RA). . . . . when he sets in the western  
horizon of heaven,  
by one skilled scribe of the sacrificial table  
in royal API, PANEHSI. Saith,  
Hail RA, (maker of ) mankind, TUM HARMACHIS,  
one god living by truth, maker of beings,  
author of existences, of beasts and men, proceeding from  
thy (his) eye,  
lord of heaven, lord of earth,  
maker of subjects and rulers,  
lord universal, bull of the cycle of gods,  
King of the upper sky, lord of gods,  
Sovran Prince over cycle of gods and goddesses,  
self-formed double essence that was in the beginning.  
Homage to thee, maker of gods, TUM,  
creator of intelligences, lord of delight,  
mighty one of loves, illumining all mankind living ;  
I give thee adoration in the evening ;  
propitiated, thou reposest in life,  
the *sekti* is in gladness of heart,  
the *aat* in exultation,  
they conduct thee through the abyss in peace,  
thy crew rejoicing ;<sup>1</sup> thy radiant eye divine has  
overthrown thy foe, repelling the advance of APAP,  
Thou reposest gracious with glad heart

<sup>1</sup> *Seher-n xut-k xefli-k* ; for the sense here given to *xut*, the deified eye of  
Δ, cf. Naville, *Lit.*, p. 57.

in the horizon of MANU,  
 where thou shinest on the gracious god,  
 lord of eternity, ruler of the nether world,  
 thou givest illumination to beings there departed :  
 they see thy glories,  
 the dwellers of the hollows in their recesses,  
 their arms are uplifted in adoration to thy form.  
 Spirits of the West rejoice when thou beamest on them,  
 the lords of the deep are glad at heart  
 when thou illuminest the West,  
 their eyes open to see thee,  
 their heart delights as they behold  
 with acclamation thy form above them ;  
 faultless their divine limbs are born,  
 thou framest them in their completeness ;  
 thou risest, thou destroyest their ills,  
 thou settest to refresh their limbs,  
 they adore as thou arrivest to them,  
 they occupy the front of thy bark  
 as thou settest in the horizon of MANU,  
 renewed as RA each day.  
 Grant thou that my soul may be among them,  
 may thy radiance beam on my frame,  
 may I see the sun's orb amid those enlightened spirits of  
 Hades,  
 who sit before UNNEFER, tending with careful regard  
 the form of the Osirian scribe  
 of the sacrificial table in royal APF, PANTJISI.

A kneeling figure, with hands raised in attitude of  
 devotion, faces the last four lines of the inscription :  
 in front of it are the words :—

By his son, giving life to his name,  
 scribe of the divine book of the lord of the Two Lands,  
 the protector<sup>1</sup> residing at the royal palace,  
 APHELRUMES, justified.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *ḥm, ḥm*, of en applied to the King, a phrase of which the meaning is perhaps still undetermined.





nical proceeding ; and the marquis was only deterred from putting it in execution by his fear of the inhabitants of Ocaña, who openly espoused the cause of Isabella. Indeed, the common people of Castile very generally supported her in her preference of the Aragonese match. Boys paraded the streets, bearing banners emblazoned with the arms of Aragon, and singing verses prophetic of the glories of the auspicious union. They even assembled round the palace gates, and insulted the cars of Henry and his minister by the repetition of satirical stanzas, which contrasted Alfonso's years with the youthful graces of Ferdinand.\* Notwithstanding this popular expression of opinion, however, the constancy of Isabella might at length have yielded to the importunity of her persecutors, had she not been encouraged by her friend, the archbishop of Toledo, who had warmly entered into the interests of Aragon, and who promised, should matters come to extremity, to march in person to her relief at the head of a sufficient force to insure it. (1469.)

Isabella, indignant at the oppressive treatment which she experienced from her brother, as well as at his notorious infraction of almost every article in the treaty of Toros de Guisando, felt herself released from her corresponding engagements, and determined to conclude the negotiations relative to her marriage without any further deference to his opinion. Before taking any decisive step, however, she was desirous of obtaining the concurrence of the leading nobles of her party. This was effected without difficulty, through the intervention of the archbishop of Toledo, and of Don Frederic Henriquez, admiral of Castile, and the maternal grandfather of Ferdinand ; a person of high

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 7.—Alonso de Palencia, Corónica, MS. part 2, cap. 7.



consideration, both from his rank and character, and connected by blood with the principal families in the kingdom.\* Fortified by their approbation, Isabella dismissed the Aragonese envoy with a favourable answer to his master's suit.†

Her reply was received with almost as much satisfaction by the old king of Aragon, John the Second, as by his son. This monarch, who was one of the shrewdest princes of his time, had always been deeply sensible of the importance of consolidating the scattered monarchies of Spain under one head. He had solicited the hand of Isabella for his son, when she possessed only a contingent reversion of the crown. But, when her succession had been settled on a more secure basis, he lost no time in effecting this favourite object of his policy. With the consent of the states he had transferred to his son the title of king of Sicily, and associated him with himself in the government at home, in order to give him greater consequence in the eyes of his mistress. He then despatched a confidential agent into Castile, with instructions to gain over to his interests all who exercised any influence on the mind of the princess; furnishing him for this purpose with *cartes blanches*, signed by himself and Ferdinand, which he was empowered to fill at his discretion.

Between parties thus favourably disposed there was no unnecessary delay. The marriage articles were signed, and sworn to by Ferdinand at Cervera, on the 7th of January, 1469. He promised faithfully to respect the laws and usages of Castile; to fix his residence in that kingdom,

\* Pulgar, Claros Varones, tit. 2.

† L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 154.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 162.—Alonso de Palencia, Corónica, MS. part 2, cap. 7.—Pulgar Reyes Católicos, cap. 9.

‡ Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 157, 163.

and not to quit it without the consent of Isabella; to alienate no property belonging to the crown; to prefer no foreigners to municipal offices, and indeed to make no appointments of a civil or military nature without her consent and approbation; and to resign to her exclusively the right of nomination to ecclesiastical benefices. All ordinances of a public nature were to be subscribed equally by both. Ferdinand engaged, moreover, to prosecute the war against the Moors: to respect King Henry; to suffer every noble to remain unmolested in the possession of his dignities, and not to demand restitution of the domains formerly owned by his father in Castile. The treaty concluded with a specification of a magnificent dower to be settled on Isabella, far more ample than that usually assigned to the queens of Aragon.\* The circumspection of the framers of this instrument is apparent from the various provisions introduced into it solely to calm the apprehensions and to conciliate the good-will of the party disaffected to the marriage; while the national partialities of the Castilians in general were gratified by the jealous restrictions imposed on Ferdinand, and the relinquishment of all the essential rights of sovereignty to his consort.

While these affairs were in progress, Isabella's situation was becoming exceedingly critical. She had availed herself of the absence of her brother and the marquis of Villena in the south, whither they had gone for the purpose of suppressing the still lingering spark of insurrection, to transfer her residence from Ocaña to Madrigal, where, under the protection of her mother, she intended to abide

\* See the copy of the original marriage contract, as it exists in the archives of Simancas, extracted in tom. vi. of *Memorias de la Acad. de Hist.*, Ap. No. 1.—Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 18, cap. 21.—Ferreiras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. vii. p. 236.

the issue of the pending negotiations with Aragon. Far, however, from escaping the vigilant eye of the marquis of Villena by this movement, she laid herself more open to it. She found the bishop of Burgos, the nephew of the marquis, stationed at Madrigal, who now served as an effectual spy upon her actions. Her most confidential servants were corrupted, and conveyed intelligence of her proceedings to her enemy. Alarmed at the actual progress made in the negotiations for her marriage, the marquis was now convinced that he could only hope to defeat them by resorting to the coercive system which he had before abandoned. He accordingly instructed the archbishop of Seville to march at once to Madrigal with a sufficient force to secure Isabella's person; and letters were at the same time addressed by Henry to the citizens of that place, menacing them with his resentment if they should presume to interpose in her behalf. The timid inhabitants disclosed the purport of the mandate to Isabella, and besought her to provide for her own safety. This was perhaps the most critical period in her life. Betrayed by her own domestics, deserted even by those friends of her own sex who might have afforded her sympathy and counsel, but who fled affrighted from the scene of danger, and on the eve of falling into the snares of her enemies, she beheld the sudden extinction of those hopes which she had so long and so fondly cherished.\*

In this exigency, she contrived to convey a knowledge of her situation to admiral Henriquez, and the archbishop of Toledo. The active prelate, on receiving the summons,

\* Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 12.—Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 128, 131, 136.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 162.—Beatrice de Bobadilla and Mencía de la Torre, the two ladies most in her confidence, had escaped to the neighbouring town of Coca.

collected a body of horse, and, reinforced by the admiral's troops, advanced with such expedition to Madrigal, that he succeeded in anticipating the arrival of the enemy. Isabella received her friends with unfeigned satisfaction; and, bidding adieu to her dismayed guardian, the bishop of Burgos, and his attendants, she was borne off by her little army in a sort of military triumph to the friendly city of Valladolid, where she was welcomed by the citizens with a general burst of enthusiasm.\*

In the mean time, Gutierre de Cardenas, one of the household of the princess,† and Alonso de Palencia, the faithful chronicler of these events, were despatched into Aragon in order to quicken Ferdinand's operations, during the auspicious interval afforded by the absence of Henry in Andalusia. On arriving at the frontier town of Osma, they were dismayed to find that the bishop of that place, together with the duke of Medina Celi, on whose active co-operation they had relied for the safe introduction of Ferdinand into Castile, had been gained over to the interests of the marquis of Villena.‡ The envoys, however, adroitly concealing the real object of their mission, were permitted to pass unmolested to Saragossa, where Ferdinand was then residing. They could not have arrived at

\* Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 136.—Alonso de Palencio, *Corónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 12.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 69.

† This cavalier, who was of an ancient and honourable family in Castile, was introduced to the princess's service by the archbishop of Toledo. He is represented by Gonzalo de Obiedo as a man of much sagacity and knowledge of the world, qualities with which he united a steady devotion to the interests of his mistress.—Obiedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1. quinc. 2, dial. 1.

‡ Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. cap. 14.—The bishop told Palencia, that "if his own servants deserted him, he would oppose the entrance of Ferdinand into the kingdom."

a more inopportune season. The old king of Aragon was in the very heat of the war against the insurgent Catalans, headed by the victorious John of Anjou. Although so sorely pressed, his forces were on the eve of disbanding for want of the requisite funds to maintain them. His exhausted treasury did not contain more than three hundred *enriques*.\* In this exigency he was agitated by the most distressing doubts. As he could spare neither the fund, nor the force necessary for covering his son's entrance into Castile, he must either send him unprotected into a hostile country, already aware of his intended enterprise and in arms to defeat it, or abandon the long-cherished object of his policy, at the moment when his plans were ripe for execution. Unable to extricate himself from this dilemma, he referred the whole matter to Ferdinand and his council.†

It was at length determined that the prince should undertake the journey, accompanied by half a dozen attendants only, in the disguise of merchants, by the direct route from Saragossa; while another party, in order to divert the attention of the Castilians, should proceed in a different direction, with all the ostentation of a public embassy from the king of Aragon to Henry the Fourth. The distance was not great which Ferdinand and his suite were to travel before reaching a place of safety; but this intervening country was patrolled by squadrons of cavalry for the purpose of intercepting their progress; and the whole extent of the frontier, from Almazan to Guadalajara, was defended by a line of fortified castles in the hands of the family of Men-

\* Zurita, Anales, lib. 18, cap. 26.—The *enrique* was a gold coin, so denominated from Henry II.

† Zurita, Anales, lib. 18, cap. 26.—Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. p. 273.

doza. The greatest circumspection therefore was necessary. The party journeyed chiefly in the night; Ferdinand assumed the disguise of a servant, and, when they halted on the road, took care of the mules, and served his companions at table. In this guise, with no other disaster except that of leaving at an inn the purse which contained the funds for the expedition, they arrived late on the second night, at a little place called the Burgo, or Borough, of Osma, which the count of Treviño, one of the partisans of Isabella, had occupied with a considerable body of men-at-arms. On knocking at the gate, cold and faint with travelling, during which the prince had allowed himself to take no repose, they were saluted by a large stone discharged by a sentinel from the battlements, which, glancing near Ferdinand's head, had well-nigh brought his romantic enterprise to a tragical conclusion; when his voice was recognised by his friends within, and the trumpets proclaiming his arrival, he was received with great joy and festivity by the count and his followers. The remainder of his journey, which he commenced before dawn, was performed under the convoy of a numerous and well-armed escort; and on the 9th of October he reached Dueñas in the kingdom of Leon, where the Castilian nobles and cavaliers of his party eagerly thronged to render him the homage due to his rank.†

The intelligence of Ferdinand's arrival diffused universal joy in the little court of Isabella at Valladolid. Her first step was to transmit a letter to her brother Henry, in which she informed him of the presence of the prince in his dominions, and of their intended marriage. She excused the course she had taken, by the embarrassments in which she had been involved by the malice of her enemies. She

Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 78. Ilust. 2.

† Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. part. ii. cap. 14.—Zurita, *Anales*, loc. cit.

represented the political advantages of the connexion, and the sanction it had received from the Castilian nobles; and she concluded with soliciting his approbation of it, giving him at the same time affectionate assurances of the most dutiful submission both on the part of Ferdinand and of herself.\* Arrangements were then made for an interview between the royal pair, in which some courtly parasites would fain have persuaded their mistress to require some act of homage from Ferdinand, in token of the inferiority of the crown of Aragon to that of Castile: a proposition which she rejected with her usual discretion.†

Agreeably to these arrangements, Ferdinand, on the evening of the 15th of October, passed privately from Dueñas, accompanied only by four attendants, to the neighbouring city of Valladolid, where he was received by the archbishop of Toledo, and conducted to the apartment of his mistress.‡ Ferdinand was at this time in the eighteenth year of his age. His complexion was fair, though somewhat bronzed by constant exposure to the sun; his eye quick and cheerful; his forehead ample, and approaching to baldness. His muscular and well-proportioned frame was invigorated by the toils of war, and by the chivalrous exercises in which he delighted. He was one of the best horsemen in his court, and excelled in field sports of every kind. His voice was somewhat sharp, but he possessed a fluent eloquence; and when he

\* This letter, dated October 12th, is cited at length by Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 136.

† Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 15.

‡ Gutierre de Cardenas was the first who pointed him out to the princess, exclaiming at the same time, "*Ese es, ese es!*" "This is he!" in commemoration of which he was permitted to place on his escutcheon the letters SS, whose pronunciation in Spanish resembles that of the exclamation which he had uttered.—*Ibid*, part 2, cap. 15.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc 2, dial. 1.

had a point to carry, his address was courteous and even insinuating. He secured his health by extreme temperance in his diet, and by such habits of activity, that it was said he seemed to find repose in business.\* Isabella was a year older than her lover. In stature she was somewhat above the middle size. Her complexion was fair; her hair, of a bright chesnut colour, inclining to red; and her mild blue eye beamed with intelligence and sensibility. She was exceedingly beautiful; "the handsomest lady," says one of her household, "whom I ever beheld, and the most gracious in her manners."† The portrait, still existing of her in the royal palace, is conspicuous for an open symmetry of features indicative of the natural serenity of temper, and that beautiful harmony of intellectual and moral qualities, which most distinguished her. She was dignified in her demeanour, and modest even to a degree of reserve. She spoke the Castilian language with more than usual elegance: and early imbibed a relish for letters, in which she was superior to Ferdinand, whose education in this particular seems to have been neglected.‡ It is not easy to obtain a dispassionate portrait of Isabella. The Spaniards, who revert to her glorious reign, are so smitten with her moral perfections, that, even in depicting her personal, they borrow somewhat of the exaggerated colouring of romance.

The interview lasted more than two hours, when Ferdinand retired to his quarters at Ducñas as privately as he

\* L. Mariño, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 182.—Garibay, *Compendio*, lib. 18, cap. 1.—"Tan amigo de los negocios," says Mariana, "que perecía, con el trabajo descansaba."—*Hist. de España*, lib. 25, cap. 18.

† "En hermosura, puestas delante S. A todas las mugeres que yo he visto, ninguna vi tan graciosa, ni tanto de ver como su persona, ni de tal manera e sanctidad honestísima."—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS.

‡ Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 201.—Abarca, *Reyes de Aragón* tom. ii. p. 362.—Garibay, *Compendio*, lib. 18, cap. 1.



came. The preliminaries of the marriage, however, were first adjusted ; but so great was the poverty of the parties, that it was found necessary to borrow money to defray the expenses of the ceremony.\* Such were the humiliating circumstances attending the commencement of a union destined to open the way to the highest prosperity and grandeur of the Spanish monarchy !

The marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella was publicly celebrated, on the morning of the 19th of October, 1469, in the palace of John de Vivero, the temporary residence of the princess, and subsequently appropriated to the chancery of Valladolid. The nuptials were solemnised in the presence of Ferdinand's grandfather, the admiral of Castile, of the archbishop of Toledo, and a multitude of persons of rank as well as of inferior condition, amounting in all to no less than two thousand.† A papal bull of dispensation was produced by the archbishop, relieving the parties from the impediment incurred by their falling within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. This spurious document was afterwards discovered to have been devised by the old king of Aragon, Ferdinand, and the archbishop, who were deterred from applying to the court of Rome by the zeal with which it openly espoused the interest of Henry, and who knew that Isabella would never consent to a union repugnant to the canons of the established church, and one which involved such heavy ecclesiastical censures. A genuine bull of dispensation was obtained, some years later, from Sixtus the Fourth ; but Isabella, whose honest mind abhorred every thing like artifice, was filled with no little

\* Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 465.

† Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 1469.—Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 16.—Zúñiga, *Anales*, lib. 18, cap. 26.—See a copy of the official record of the marriage, *Mem. de la Acad.*, tom. vi. *Apend.* 4. See also the *Ilust.* 2.

uncasiness and mortification at the discovery of the imposition.\* The ensuing week was consumed in the usual festivities of this joyous season; at the expiration of which the new-married pair attended publicly the celebration of mass, agreeably to the usage of the time, in the collegiate church of Santa Maria.†

An embassy was despatched by Ferdinand and Isabella to Henry, to acquaint him with their proceedings, and again request his approbation of them. They repeated their assurances of loyal submission, and accompanied the message with a copious extract from such of the articles of marriage as, by their import, would be most likely to conciliate his favourable disposition. Henry coldly replied, "that he must advise with his ministers."‡

---

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, author of the "Quincuagenas" frequently cited in this History, was born at Madrid, in 1478. He was of noble Asturian descent. Indeed, every peasant in the Asturias claims nobility as his birthright. At the age of twelve he was introduced into the royal palace, as one of the pages of prince John. He continued with the court several years, and was present, though a boy, in the closing campaigns of the Moorish war. In 1514, according to his own statement, he embarked for the Indies, where, although he revisited his native country several times, he continued during the remainder of his long life. The time of his death is uncertain.

Oviedo occupied several important posts under the government, and he was appointed to one of a literary nature, for which he was well qualified

---

\* The intricacies of this affair, at once the scandal and the stumbling-block of the Spanish historians, have been unravelled by Señor Clemencia with his usual perspicuity. See *Mem. de la Acad.*, tom. vi. pp. 105-116. *Ilust.* 2.

† Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MS. part. 2. cap. 16.—A lively narrative of the adventures of prince Ferdinand, detailed in this chapter, may be found in Cushing's *Reminiscences of Spain*, (Boston, 1833,) vol. i. pp. 225-255.

‡ Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 137.—Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MSS.

by his long residence abroad; that of historiographer of the Indies. It was in this capacity that he produced his principal work, "*Historia General de las Indias*," in fifty books. Las Casas denounces the book as a wholesale fabrication, "as full of lies, almost, as pages." (*Œuvres*, trad. de Llorente, tom. i. p. 382.) But Las Casas entertained too hearty an aversion for the man, whom he publicly accused of rapacity and cruelty, and was too decidedly opposed to his ideas on the government of the Indies, to be a fair critic. Oviedo, though somewhat loose and rambling, possessed extensive stores of information, by which those who have had occasion to follow in his track have liberally profited.

The work with which we are concerned, is his *Quincuagenas*. It is entitled "*Las Quincuagenas de los generosos é ilustres é no menos famosos Reyes, Príncipes, Duques, Marqueses y Condes et Caballeros, et Personas notables de España, que escribió el Capitan Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez, Alcáide de sus Magestades de la Fortaleza de la Ciudad é Puerto de Sancto Domingo de la Isla Española, Coronista de las Indias*," &c. At the close of the third volume is this record of the octogenarian author: "*Acabé de escribir de mi mano este famoso tratado de la nobleza de España, domingo 1º día de Pascua de Pentecostes XXIII. de mayo de 1556 años. Laus Deo. Y de mi edad 79 años.*" This very curious work is in the form of dialogues, in which the author is the chief interlocutor. It contains a very full, and, indeed, prolix notice of the principal persons in Spain, their lineage, revenues, and arms, with an inexhaustible fund of private anecdote. The author, who was well acquainted with most of the individuals of note in his time, amused himself, during his absence in the New World, with keeping alive the images of home by this minute record of early reminiscences. In this mass of gossip, there is a good deal, indeed, of very little value. It contains, however, much for the illustration of domestic manners, and copious particulars, as I have intimated, respecting the characters and habits of eminent personages, which could have been known only to one familiar with them. On all topics of decent and heraldry, he is uncommonly full; and one would think his services in this department alone might have secured him, in a land where these are so much respected, the honours of the press. His book, however, still remains in manuscript, apparently little known, and less used, by Castilian scholars. Besides the three folio volumes in the Royal Library at Madrid, from which the transcript in my possession was obtained, Clemencin, whose commendations of this work, as illustrative of Isabella's reign, are unqualified, (*Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. *Ilust.* 10,) enumerates three others, two in the king's private library, and one in that of the Academy.

## CHAPTER IV.

FACTIONS IN CASTILE.—WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ARAGON.—DEATH  
OF HENRY IV. OF CASTILE.

1469—1474.

Factions in Castile—Ferdinand and Isabella.—Gallant defence of Perpignan against the French.—Ferdinand raises the siege.—Isabella's party gains strength.—Interview between King Henry IV. and Isabella.—The French invade Roussillon.—Ferdinand's summary justice.—Death of Henry IV. of Castile.—Influence of his Reign.

THE marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella disconcerted the operations of the marquis of Villena, or, as he should be styled, the grand master of St. James, since he had resigned his marquisate to his elder son, on his appointment to the command of the military order above mentioned, a dignity inferior only to the primacy in importance. It was determined, however, in the councils of Henry to oppose at once the pretensions of the princess Joanna to those of Isabella; and an embassy was gladly received from the king of France, offering to the former lady the hand of his brother the duke of Guienne, the rejected suitor of Isabella. Louis the Eleventh was willing to engage his relative in the unsettled politics of a distant state, in order to relieve himself from his pretensions at home.\*

An interview took place between Henry the Fourth and the French ambassadors in a little village in the vale of

\* Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 21.—Gaillard, *Rivallité*, tom. iii. p. 284.—Rades y Andrada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, fol. 65.—Caro de Torres, *Ordenes Militares*, fol. 43.

Lozoya, in October 1470. A proclamation was read, in which Henry declared his sister to have forfeited whatever claims she had derived from the treaty of Toros de Guisando, by marrying contrary to his approbation. He then with his queen swore to the legitimacy of the princess Joanna, and announced her as his true and lawful successor. The attendant nobles took the usual oaths of allegiance; and the ceremony was concluded by affiancing the princess, then in the ninth year of her age, with the formalities ordinarily practised on such occasions, to the count of Boulogne, the representative of the duke of Guienne.\*

The farce, in which many of the actors were the same persons who performed the principal parts at the convention of Toros de Guisando, had on the whole an unfavourable influence on Isabella's cause. It exhibited her rival to the world as one whose claims were to be supported by the whole authority of the court of Castile, with the probable co-operation of France. Many of the most considerable families in the kingdom, as the Pachecos,† the Mendozas, in all their extensive ramifications,‡ the Zuñigas, the Velas-

\* Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23.—Castillo, *Cronica*, p. 298.—Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 24.—Henry, well knowing how little all this would avail without the constitutional sanction of the cortes, twice issued his summons in 1470, for the convocation of the deputies, to obtain a recognition of the title of Joanna. But without effect. In the letters of convocation issued for a third assembly of the states, in 1471, this purpose was prudently omitted, and thus the claims of Joanna failed to receive the countenance of the only body which could give them validity. See the copies of the original writs addressed to the cities of Toledo and Segovia, cited by Marina, *Teoría*, tom. ii. pp. 87–89.

† The grand master of St. James, and his son, the marquis of Villena, afterwards duke of Escalona. The rents of the former nobleman, whose avarice was as insatiable as his influence over the feeble mind of Henry IV. was unlimited, exceeded those of any other grandee in the kingdom. See Pulgar, *Claros Varones*, tit. 6.

‡ The marquis of Santillana, first duke of Infantado, and his brothers,

cos,\* the Pimentels,† unmindful of the homage so recently rendered to Isabella, now openly testified their adhesion to her niece.

Ferdinand and his consort, who held their little court at Dueñas‡, were so poor as to be scarcely capable of defraying the ordinary charges of their table. The northern provinces of Biscay and Guipuscoa had, however, loudly declared against the French match; and the populous province of Andalusia, with the house of Medina Sidonia at its head, still maintained its loyalty to Isabella unshaken. But her principal reliance was on the archbishop of Toledo, whose elevated station in the church and ample revenues gave him perhaps less real influence than his commanding and resolute character, which had enabled him to triumph over every obstacle devised by his more crafty adversary, the grand master of St. James. The prelate, however, with all his generous self-devotion, was far from being a comfortable ally. He would willingly have raised Isabella to the throne, but he would have her indebted for her elevation exclusively to himself. He looked with a jealous eye on her most intimate friends, and complained that neither

the counts of Coruña and of Tendilla, and above all Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, afterwards cardinal of Spain and archbishop of Toledo, who was indebted for the highest dignities in the church less to his birth than his abilities.—See *Claros Varones*, tit. 4, 9.—*Salazar de Mendoza*, *Dignidades*, lib. 3, cap. 17.

\* Alvaro de Zuñiga, count of Palencia, and created by Henry IV. duke of Arevalo.—Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, count of Haro, was raised to the post of constable of Castile in 1473, and the office continued to be hereditary in the family from that period. Pulgar, *Claros Varones*, tit. 3.—*Salazar de Mendoza*, *Dignidades*, lib. 3, cap. 21.

† The Pimentels, counts of Benavente, had estates which gave them 60,000 ducats a year; a very large income for that period, and far exceeding that of any other grandee of similar rank in the kingdom.—L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 25.

‡ Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 70.

she nor her husband deferred sufficiently to his counsel. The princess could not always conceal her disgust at these humours; and Ferdinand, on one occasion, plainly told him that "he was not to be put in leading-strings, like so many of the sovereigns of Castile." The old king of Aragon, alarmed at the consequences of a rupture with so indispensable an ally, wrote in the most earnest manner to his son, representing the necessity of propitiating the offended prelate. But Ferdinand, although educated in the school of dissimulation, had not yet acquired that self-command which enabled him in after-life to sacrifice his passions, and sometimes, indeed, his principles, to his interests.

The most frightful anarchy at this period prevailed throughout Castile. While the court was abandoned to corrupt or frivolous pleasure, the administration of justice was neglected, until crimes were committed with a frequency and on a scale which menaced the very foundation of society. The nobles conducted their personal feuds with an array of numbers which might compete with those of powerful princes. The Duke of Infantado, the head of the house of Mendoza,† could bring into the field, at four and twenty hours' notice, one thousand lances and ten thousand foot. The battles, far from assuming the character of those waged by the Italian *condottieri* at this period, were of the most sanguinary and destructive kind. Andalusia was in particular the theatre of this savage warfare. The whole of

\* Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 170.—Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MS. cap. 45.

† This nobleman, Diego Hurtado, "muy gentil caballero y gran señor," as Oviedo calls him, was at this time only marquis of Santillana, and was not raised to the title of duke of Infantado till the reign of Isabella (Quincuagenas, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 8). To avoid confusion, however, I have given him the title by which he is usually recognised by Castilian writers.

that extensive district was divided by the factions of the Guzmans and Ponces de Leon. The chiefs of these ancient houses having recently died, the inheritance descended to young men, whose hot blood soon revived the feuds which had been permitted to cool under the temperate sway of their fathers. One of these fiery cavaliers was Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, so deservedly celebrated afterwards in the wars of Granada as the marquis of Cadiz. He was an illegitimate and younger son of the count of Arcos, but was preferred by his father to his other children in consequence of the extraordinary qualities which he evinced at a very early period. He served his apprenticeship to the art of war in the campaigns against the Moors, displaying on several occasions an uncommon degree of enterprise and personal heroism. On succeeding to his paternal honours, his haughty spirit, impatient of a rival, led him to revive the old feud with the duke of Medina Sidonia, the head of the Guzmans, who, though the most powerful nobleman in Andalusia, was far his inferior in capacity and military science.\*

On one occasion the duke of Medina Sidonia mustered an army of twenty thousand men against his antagonist; on another, no less than fifteen hundred houses of the Ponce faction were burnt to the ground in Seville. Such were the potent engines employed by these petty sovereigns in their conflicts with one another, and such the havoc which they brought on the fairest portion of the Peninsula. The husbandman, stripped of his harvest and driven from his fields, abandoned himself to idleness, or sought subsistence by plunder. A scarcity ensued in the years 1472 and 1473, in which the prices of the most necessary commodities rose to such an exorbitant height as put them beyond the reach

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 3.—Salazar de Mendoza, Crónica del Gran Cardenal de España, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza (Toledo, 1625,) pp. 138, 150.—Zuñiga, Anales de Sevilla, p. 362.



of any but the affluent. But it would be wearisome to go into all the loathsome details of wretchedness and crime brought on this unhappy country by an imbecile government and a disputed succession, and which are portrayed with lively fidelity in the chronicles, the letters, and the satires of the time.\*

- While Ferdinand's presence was more than ever necessary to support the drooping spirits of his party in Castile, he was unexpectedly summoned into Aragon to the assistance of his father. No sooner had Barcelona submitted to king John, as mentioned in a preceding chapter,† than the inhabitants of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which provinces it will be remembered were placed in the custody of Franco as a guarantee for the king of Aragon's engagements, oppressed by the grievous exactions of their new rulers, determined to break the yoke, and to put themselves again under the protection of their ancient master, provided they could obtain his support. The opportunity was favourable.

\* Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 4, 5, 7.—Zuñiga, *Anales de Sevilla*, pp. 363, 364.—Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 35, 38, 39, 42.—Saez, *Monedas de Enrique IV.* pp. 1-3.—Pulgar, in an epistle addressed, in the autumn of 1473, to the bishop of Conja, adverts to several circumstances which set in a strong light the anarchical state of the kingdom and the total deficiency of police. The celebrated satirical eclogue, also, entitled "Mingo Revulgo," exposes, with coarse but cutting sarcasm, the licence of the court, the corruption of the clergy, and the prevalent depravity of the people. In one of its stanzas it boldly ventures to promise another and a better sovereign to the country. This performance, even more interesting to the antiquary than to the historian, has been attributed by some to Pulgar, (see Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 473,) and by others to Rodrigo Cota, (see Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Vetus*, tom. ii. p. 264,) but without satisfactory evidence in favour of either. Bonterwek is much mistaken in asserting it to have been aimed at the government of John II. The gloss of Pulgar, whose authority as a contemporary must be considered decisive, plainly proves it to have been directed against Henry IV.

† See chap. II.

A large part of the garrisons in the principal cities had been withdrawn by Louis the Eleventh to cover the frontier on the side of Burgundy and Brittany. John, therefore, gladly embraced the proposal; and on a concerted day a simultaneous insurrection took place throughout the provinces, when such of the French in the principal towns as had not the good fortune to escape into the citadels, were indiscriminately massacred. Of all the country Salces, Collioure, and the castle of Perpignan alone remained in the hands of the French. John then threw himself into the last-named city with a small body of forces, and instantly set about the construction of works to protect the inhabitants against the fire of the French garrison in the castle, as well as from the army which might soon be expected to besiege them from without.\*

Louis the Eleventh, deeply incensed at the defection of his new subjects, ordered the most formidable preparations for the siege of their capital. John's officers, alarmed at these preparations, besought him not to expose his person at his advanced age to the perils of a siege and of captivity. But the lion-hearted monarch saw the necessity of animating the spirits of the besieged by his own presence; and, assembling the inhabitants in one of the churches of the city, he exhorted them resolutely to stand to their defence, and made a solemn oath to abide the issue with them to the last.

Louis, in the meanwhile, had convoked the *ban* and *arrière-ban* of the contiguous French provinces, and mustered an array of chivalry and feudal militia, amounting, according to the Spanish historians, to thirty thousand men.

\* Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. cap. 56. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 481. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 191. — Barante, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, (Paris, 1825,) tom. ix. pp. 101-106.

With these ample forces, his lieutenant-general, the duke of Savoy, closely invested Perpignan; and, as he was provided with a numerous train of battering artillery, instantly opened a heavy fire on the inhabitants. John, thus exposed to the double fire of the fortress and besiegers, was in a very critical situation. Far from being disheartened, however, he was seen armed cap-a-pie, on horseback from dawn till evening, rallying the spirits of his troops, and always present at the point of danger. He succeeded perfectly in communicating his own enthusiasm to the soldiers. The French garrison were defeated in several sorties, and their governor taken prisoner; while supplies were introduced into the city in the very face of the blockading army.\*

Ferdinand, on receiving intelligence of his father's perilous situation, instantly resolved, by Isabella's advice, to march to his relief. Putting himself at the head of a body of Castilian horse, generously furnished him by the archbishop of Toledo and his friends, he passed into Aragon, where he was speedily joined by the principal nobility of the kingdom, and an army amounting in all to thirteen hundred lances, and seven thousand infantry. With this corps he rapidly descended the Pyrenees, by the way of Mançanara, in the face of a driving tempest, which concealed him for some time from the view of the enemy. The latter, during their protracted operations, for nearly three months, had sustained a serious diminution of numbers in their repeated skirmishes with the besieged, and still more from an epidemic which broke out in their camp. They also began to suffer not a little from want of provisions. At this crisis, the apparition of this new army, thus unexpectedly descending on their

\* Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. cap. 70.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 482.—L. Marneco, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 148.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 195.—Auquetil, *Histoire de France*, (Paris, 1805,) tom. v. pp. 60, 61.

rear, filled them with such consternation, that they raised the siege at once, setting fire to their tents, and retreating with such precipitation as to leave most of the sick and wounded a prey to the devouring element. John marched out, with colours flying and music playing, at the head of his little band, to greet his deliverers; and after an affecting interview in the presence of the two armies, the father and son returned in triumph into Perpignan.\*

The French army, reinforced by command of Louis, made a second ineffectual attempt (their own writers call it only a feint) upon the city; and the campaign was finally concluded by a treaty between the two monarchs, in which it was arranged that the king of Aragon should disburse within the year the sum originally stipulated for the services rendered him by Louis in his late war with his Catalan subjects; and that, in case of failure, the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne should be permanently ceded to the French crown. The commanders of the fortified places in the contested territory, selected by one monarch from the nominations of the other, were excused during the interim from obedience to the mandates of either, at least, so far as they might contravene their reciprocal engagements.† (Sept. 1473.)

There is little reason to believe that this singular compact was subscribed in good faith by either party. John, notwithstanding the temporary succour which he had received from Louis at the commencement of his difficulties with the Catalans, might justly complain of the infraction of

\* Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 196.—Barante, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne*, tom. x. pp. 105, 106.—L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 149.—Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. cap. 70, 71, 72.

† Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 200.—Gaillard, *Royalité*, tom. iii. p. 266.—See the articles of the treaty cited by Duclos, *Hist. de Louis XI.* tom. ii. pp. 99, 101.—Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. cap. 73.

his engagements, at a subsequent period of the war ; when he not only withheld the stipulated aid, but indirectly gave every facility in his power to the invasion of the duke of Lorraine. Neither was the king of Aragon in a situation, had he been disposed, to make the requisite disbursements. Louis, on the other hand, as the event soon proved, had no other object in view but to gain time to reorganise his army, and to lull his adversary into security, while he took effectual measures for recovering the prize which had so unexpectedly eluded him.

During these occurrences, Isabella's prospects were daily brightening in Castile. The duke of Guienne, the destined spouse of her rival Joanna, had died in France ; but not until he had testified his contempt of his engagements with the Castilian princess by openly soliciting the hand of the heiress of Burgundy.\* Subsequent negotiations for her marriage with two other princes had entirely failed. The doubts which hung over her birth, and which the public protestations of Henry and his queen, far from dispelling, served only to augment, by the necessity which they implied for such an extraordinary proceeding, were sufficient to deter any one from a connection which must involve the party in all the disasters of a civil war.†

Isabella's own character, moreover, contributed essen-

\* Louis XI. is supposed with much probability to have assassinated his brother. M. de Barante sums up his examination of the evidence with this remark. "Le roi Louis XI. ne fit peut-être pas mourir son frère, mais personne ne pensa qu'il en fut incapable." *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne*, tom. ix. p. 433.

† The two princes alluded to were the duke of Segorbe, a cousin of Ferdinand, and the king of Portugal. The former, on his entrance into Castile, assumed such sovereign state, (giving his hand, for instance, to the grandees to kiss,) as disgusted these haughty nobles, and was eventually the occasion of breaking off his match. Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 62.—Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 392.

tially to strengthen her cause. Her sedate conduct, and the decorum maintained in her court, formed a strong contrast with the frivolity and license which disgraced that of Henry and his consort. Thinking men were led to conclude that the sagacious administration of Isabella must eventually secure to her the ascendancy over her rival; while all who sincerely loved their country could not but prognosticate for it, under her beneficent sway, a degree of prosperity which it could never reach under the rapacious and profligate ministers who directed the councils of Henry, and most probably would continue to direct those of his daughter.

Among the persons whose opinions experienced a decided revolution from these considerations, was Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, archbishop of Seville and cardinal of Spain; a prelate, whose lofty station in the church was supported by talents of the highest order; and whose restless ambition led him, like many of the churchmen of the time, to take an active interest in politics, for which he was admirably adapted by his knowledge of affairs and discernment of character. Without deserting his former master, he privately entered into a correspondence with Isabella; and a service, which Ferdinand, on his return from Aragon, had an opportunity of rendering the duke of Infantado, the head of the Mendozas,\* secured the attachment of the other members of this powerful family.†

\* Oviedo assigns another reason for this change; the disgust occasioned by Henry IV.'s transferring the custody of his daughter from the family of Mendoza to the Pachecos.—*Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. l, quinc. l, dial. 8.

† Salazar de Mendoza, *Crón. del Gran Cardenal*, p. 133.—Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 46, 92.—Castillo *Crónica*, cap. 163.—The influence of these new allies, especially of the cardinal, over Isabella's councils, was an additional ground of umbrage to the archbishop of Toledo,

A circumstance occurred at this time, which seemed to promise an accommodation between the adverse factions, or at least between Henry and his sister. The government of Segovia, whose impregnable citadel had been made the depository of the royal treasure, was intrusted to Andres de Cabrera, an officer of the king's household. This cavalier, influenced in part by personal pique to the grand master of St. James, and still more perhaps by the importunities of his wife, Beatrice de Bobadilla, the early friend and companion of Isabella, entered into a correspondence with the princess, and sought to open the way for her permanent reconciliation with her brother. He accordingly invited her to Segovia, where Henry occasionally resided, and, to dispel any suspicions which she might entertain of his sincerity, despatched his wife secretly by night, disguised in the garb of a peasant, to Aranda, where Isabella then held her court. The latter, confirmed by the assurances of her friend, did not hesitate to comply with the invitation, and, accompanied by the archbishop of Toledo, proceeded to Segovia, where an interview took place between her and Henry the Fourth, in which she vindicated her past conduct, and endeavoured to obtain her brother's sanction to her union with Ferdinand. (Dec. 1473.) Henry, who was naturally of a placable temper, received her communication with complacency, and, in order to give public demonstration of the good understanding now subsisting between him and his sister, condescended to walk by her side, holding the bridle of her palfrey, as she rode along the streets of the city. Ferdinand, on his return into Castile, hastened to Segovia, where he was welcomed by the monarch with every appearance of satisfaction. A succession of *fêtes* and splendid

who, in a communication with the king of Aragon, declared himself, though friendly to their cause, to be released from all further obligations to serve it.—See Zurita. *Anales*. tom iv lib. 46 cap. 19

entertainments, at which both parties assisted, seemed to announce an entire oblivion of all past animosities, and the nation welcomed with satisfaction these symptoms of repose after the vexatious struggle by which it had been so long agitated.\*

The repose, however, was of no great duration. The slavish mind of Henry gradually relapsed under its ancient bondage; and the grand master of St. James succeeded, in consequence of an illness with which the monarch was suddenly seized after an entertainment given by Cabrera, in infusing into his mind suspicions of an attempt at assassination. Henry was so far incensed or alarmed by the suggestion, that he concerted a scheme for privately seizing the person of his sister, which was defeated by her own prudence and the vigilance of her friends.†—But, if the visit to Segovia failed in its destined purpose of a reconciliation with Henry, it was attended with the important consequence of securing to Isabella a faithful partisan in Cabrera, who, from the control which his situation gave him over the royal coffers, proved a most seasonable ally in her subsequent struggle with Joanna.

Not long after this event, Ferdinand received another summons from his father to attend him in Aragon, where the storm of war, which had been for some time gathering in the distance, now burst with pitiless fury. In the beginning of February, 1474, an embassy, consisting of two of his

\* Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. años 73, 74.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 27.—Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 164.—Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MS. part 2, cap. 75.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23.

† Mendoza, *Crón. del Gran Cardenal*, pp. 141, 142.—Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 164.—Oviedo has given a full account of this cavalier, who was allied to an ancient Catalan family, but who raised himself to such pre-eminence by his own deserts, says that writer, that he may well be considered the founder of his house. Loc. cit.



principal nobles, accompanied by a brilliant train of cavaliers and attendants, had been deputed by John to the court of Louis the Eleventh, for the ostensible purpose of settling the preliminaries of the marriage, previously agreed on between the dauphin and the infanta Isabella, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, then little more than three years of age.\*

The real object of the mission was to effect some definitive adjustment or compromise of the differences relating to the contested territories of Roussillon and Cerdagne. The king of France, who, notwithstanding his late convention with John, was making active preparations for the forcible occupation of these provinces, determined to gain time by amusing the ambassadors with a show of negotiation, and interposing every obstacle which his ingenuity could devise to their progress through his dominions. He succeeded so well in this latter part of his scheme, that the embassy did not reach Paris until the close of Lent. Louis, who seldom resided in his capital, took good care to be absent at this season. The ambassadors in the interim were entertained with balls, *fêtes*, military reviews, and whatever else might divert them from the real objects of their mission. All communication was cut off with their own government, as their couriers were stopped and their despatches intercepted, so that John knew as little of his envoys or their proceedings as if they had been in Siberia or Japan. In the meantime, formidable preparations were making in the south of France for a descent on Roussillon; and when the ambassadors, after a fruitless attempt at negotiation, which evaporated in mutual crimination and recrimination, set out on their return to Aragon, they were twice detained, at Lyons and Montpellier, from an extreme solicitude, as the

Carbajal, Anales, MS. año 70.—This was the eldest child of Ferdinand and Isabella, born Oct. 1st, 1470; afterwards queen of Portugal.

French government expressed it, to ascertain the safest route through a country intersected by hostile armies; and all this, notwithstanding their repeated protestations against this obliging disposition, which held them prisoners, in opposition to their own will and the law of nations. The prince who descended to such petty trickery passed for the wisest of his time.\*

In the meanwhile, the Seigneur du Lude had invaded Roussillon at the head of nine hundred French lances, and ten thousand infantry, supported by a powerful train of artillery, while a fleet of Genoese transports, laden with supplies, accompanied the army along the coast. Elna surrendered after a sturdy resistance; the governor and some of the principal prisoners were shamefully beheaded as traitors; and the French then proceeded to invest Perpignan. The king of Aragon was so much impoverished by the incessant wars in which he had been engaged, that he was not only unable to recruit his army, but was even obliged to pawn the robe of costly fur which he wore to defend his person against the inclemencies of the season, in order to defray the expense of transporting his baggage. In this extremity, finding himself disappointed in the co-operation, on which he had reckoned, of his ancient allies the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, he again summoned Ferdinand to his assistance, who, after a brief interview with his father in Barcelona, proceeded to Saragossa to solicit aid from the estates of Aragon.

An incident occurred on this visit of the prince worth noticing, as strongly characteristic of the lawless habits of the age. A citizen of Saragossa, named Ximenes Gordo,

\* Gaillard, *Rivalité*, tom. iii. pp. 267-276.—Duclos, *Hist. de Louis XI.* tom. ii. pp. 113, 115.—*Chronique Scandaleuse*, ed. Petitot, tom. xiii. pp. 443, 444.

of noble family, but who had relinquished the privileges of his rank in order to qualify himself for municipal office, had acquired such ascendancy over his townsmen as to engross the most considerable posts in the city for himself and his creatures. This authority he abused in a shameful manner, making use of it not only for the perversion of justice, but for the perpetration of the most flagrant crimes. Although these facts were notorious, yet such were his power and popularity with the lower classes, that Ferdinand, despairing of bringing him to justice in the ordinary way, determined on a more summary process. As Gordo occasionally visited the palace to pay his respects to the prince, the latter affected to regard him with more than usual favour, showing him such courtesy as might dissipate any distrust he had conceived of him. Gordo, thus assured, was invited at one of those interviews to withdraw into a retired apartment, where the prince wished to confer with him on business of moment. On entering the chamber he was surprised by the sight of the public executioner, the hangman of the city, whose presence, together with that of a priest, and the apparatus of death with which the apartment was garnished, revealed at once the dreadful nature of his destiny.

He was then charged with the manifold crimes with which he had been guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced on him. In vain did he appeal to Ferdinand, pleading the services which he had rendered on more than one occasion to his father. Ferdinand assured him that these should be gratefully remembered in the protection of his children; and then, bidding him unburden his conscience to his confessor, consigned him to the hand of the executioner. His body was exposed that very day in the marketplace of the city, to the dismay of his friends and adherents, most of whom paid the penalty of their crime

in the ordinary course of justice. This extraordinary proceeding is highly characteristic of the unsettled times in which it occurred; when acts of violence often superseded the regular operation of the law, even in those countries whose forms of government approached the nearest to a determinate constitution. It will doubtless remind the reader of the similar proceeding imputed to Louis the Eleventh, in the admirable sketch given us of that monarch in "Quentin Durward." \*

The supplies furnished by the Aragonese cortes were inadequate to King John's necessities, and he was compelled, while hovering with his little force on the confines of Roussillon, to witness the gradual reduction of its capital, without being able to strike a blow in its defence. The inhabitants, indeed, who fought with a resolution worthy of ancient Numantia or Saguntum, were reduced to the last extremity of famine, supporting life by feeding on the most loathsome offal, on cats, dogs, the corpses of their enemies, and even on such of their own dead as had fallen in battle! And when at length an honourable capitulation was granted them on the 14th of March, 1475, the garrison, who evacuated the city, reduced to the number of four hundred, were obliged to march on foot to Barcelona, as they had consumed their horses during the siege. †

The terms of capitulation, which permitted every inhabitant to evacuate, or reside unmolested in the city, at his option, were too liberal to satisfy the vindictive temper of the king of France. He instantly wrote to his generals, instructing them to depart from their engagements, to keep

\* Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 83.—Ferrerías, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. vii. p. 400.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. lib. 19, cap. 12.

† L. Manneco, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 150.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. lib. 19, cap. 13.—*Chronique Scandaleuse*, ed. Petitot, tom. xiii. p. 456.—Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. part. 2, cap. 91.

the city so short of supplies as to compel an emigration of its original inhabitants, and to confiscate for their own use the estates of the principal nobility; and, after delineating in detail the perfidious policy which they were to pursue, he concluded with the assurance, "that, by the blessing of God and our Lady, and Monsieur St. Martin, he would be with them before the winter, in order to aid them in its execution." Such was the miserable medley of hypocrisy and superstition which characterised the politics of the European courts in this corrupt age, and which dimmed the lustre of names most conspicuous on the page of history.

The occupation of Roussillon was followed by a truce of six months between the belligerent parties. The regular course of the narrative has been somewhat anticipated, in order to conclude that portion of it relating to the war with France, before again reverting to the affairs of Castile, where Henry the Fourth, pining under an incurable malady, was gradually approaching the termination of his disastrous reign.

This event, which, from the momentous consequences it involved, was contemplated with the deepest solicitude, not only by those who had an immediate and personal interest at stake, but by the whole nation, took place on the night of the 11th of December, 1474.† It was precipitated by the death of the grand master of St. James, on whom the feeble mind of Henry had been long accustomed to rest for its support, and who was cut off by an acute disorder but

\* See copies of the original letters, as given by M. Barante, in his *History of the Dukes of Burgundy*, in which the author has so happily seized the tone and picturesque colouring of the ancient chronicle; tom. x. p. 280, 298.

† Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 10.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 74.—Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 148.

a few months previous, in the full prime of his ambitious schemes. The king, notwithstanding the lingering nature of his disease gave him ample time for preparation, expired without a will, or even, as generally asserted, the designation of a successor. This was the more remarkable, not only as being contrary to established usage, but as occurring at a period when the succession had been so long and hotly debated.\* The testaments of the Castilian sovereigns, though never esteemed positively binding, and occasionally,

\* This topic is involved in no little obscurity, and has been reported with much discrepancy as well as inaccuracy by the modern Spanish historians. Among the ancient, Castillo, the historiographer of Henry IV., mentions certain "testamentary executors," without, however, noticing in any more direct way the existence of a will. (Crón. c. 168.) The curate of Los Palacios refers to a clause, reported, he says, to have existed in the testament of Henry IV., in which he declares Joanna his daughter and heir. (Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 10.) Alonso de Palencia states positively that there was no such instrument; and that Henry, on being asked who was to succeed him, referred to his secretary Juan Gonzalez for a knowledge of his intention. (Crón. c. 92.) L. Marineo also states that the king, "with his usual improvidence," left no will. (Cosas Memorables, fol. 155.) Pulgar, another contemporary, expressly declares that he executed no will, and quotes the words dictated by him to his secretary, in which he simply designates two of the grantees as "executors of his soul," (*albaceas de su anima*), and four others in conjunction with them as the guardians of his daughter Joanna. (Reyes Cat. p. 31.) It seems not improbable that the existence of this document has been confounded with that of a testament, and that with reference to it, the phrase above quoted of Castillo, as well as the passage of Bernaldez, is to be interpreted. Carbajal's wild story of the existence of a will, of its secretion for more than thirty years, and its final suppression by Ferdinand, is too naked of testimony to deserve the least weight with the historian. (See his Anales, MS. año 74.) It should be remembered, however, that most of the above-mentioned writers compiled their works after the accession of Isabella, and that none, save Castillo, were the partisans of her rival. It should also be added that in the letters addressed by the princess Joanna to the different cities of the kingdom, on her assuming the title of queen of Castile, (bearing date May 1475,) it is expressly stated that Henry IV., on his death-bed, solemnly

indeed, set aside,\* when deemed unconstitutional or even inexpedient by the legislature, were always allowed to have great weight with the nation.

With Henry the Fourth terminated the male line of the house of Trastámara, who had kept possession of the throne for more than a century, and in the course of only four generations had exhibited every gradation of character, from the bold and chivalrous enterprise of the first Henry of that name, down to the drivelling imbecility of the last.

The character of Henry the Fourth has been sufficiently delineated in that of his reign. He was not without certain amiable qualities, and may be considered as a weak rather than a wicked prince. In persons, however, intrusted with the degree of power exercised by sovereigns of even the most limited monarchies of this period, a weak man may be deemed more mischievous to the state over which he presides than a wicked one. The latter, feeling himself responsible in the eyes of the nation for his actions, is more likely to consult appearances, and, where his own passions or interests are not immediately involved, to legislate with reference to the general interests of his subjects. The former, on the contrary, is too often a mere tool in the hands of favourites, who, finding themselves screened by the interposition of royal authority from the consequences of measures for which they should be justly responsible, sacrifice without remorse the public weal to the advancement of their private fortunes. Thus the state, made to minister to the voracious appetites of many tyrants,

affirmed her to be his only daughter and lawful heir. These letters were drafted by John de Oviedo, (Juan González,) the confidential secretary of Henry IV. See Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 235-239.

\* As was the case with the testaments of Alfonso of Leon and Alfonso the Wise, in the thirteenth century, and with that of Peter the Cruel, in the fourteenth.

suffers incalculably more than it would from one. So fared it with Castile under Henry the Fourth; dismembered by faction, her revenues squandered on worthless parasites, the grossest violations of justice unredressed, public faith become a jest, the treasury bankrupt, the court a brothel, and private morals too loose and audacious to seek even the veil of hypocrisy! Never had the fortunes of the kingdom reached so low an ebb since the great Saracen invasion.

---

The historian cannot complain of a want of authentic materials for the reign of Henry IV. Two of the chroniclers of that period, Alonso de Palencia and Enriquez del Castillo, were eye-witnesses and conspicuous actors in the scenes which they recorded, and connected with opposite factions. The former of these writers, Alonso de Palencia, was born, as appears from his work, "*De Synonymis*," cited by Pellicer, (*Bibliotheca de Traductores*, p. 7,) in 1423. Nic. Antonio has fallen into the error of dating his birth nine years later. (*Bibliotheca Vetus*, tom. ii. p. 331) At the age of seventeen, he became page to Alfonso of Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, and, in the family of that estimable prelate, acquired a taste for letters, which never deserted him during a busy political career. He afterwards visited Italy, where he became acquainted with Cardinal Bessarion, and through him with the learned Greek Trapezuntius, whose lectures on philosophy and rhetoric he attended. On his return to his native country, he was raised to the dignity of royal historiographer by Alfonso, younger brother of Henry IV., and competitor with him for the crown. He attached himself to the fortunes of Isabella, after Alfonso's death, and was employed by the Archbishop of Toledo in many delicate negotiations, particularly in arranging the marriage of the princess with Ferdinand, for which purpose he made a secret journey into Aragon. On the accession of Isabella, he was confirmed in the office of national chronicler, and passed the remainder of his life in the composition of philological and historical works and translations from the ancient classics. The time of his death is uncertain. He lived to a good old age, however, since it appears from his own statement (see Mendez, *Typographia Española*; Madrid, 1796; p. 190) that his version of Josephus was not completed till the year 1492.

The most popular of Palencia's writings are his "*Chronicle of Henry IV.*," and his Latin "*Decades*," continuing the reign of Isabella down to the



capture of Baza, in 1489. His historical style, far from scholastic pedantry, exhibits the business-like manner of a man of the world. His Chronicle, which, being composed in the Castilian, was probably intended for popular use, is conducted with little artifice, and indeed with a prolixity and minuteness of detail arising no doubt from the deep interest which as an actor he took in the scenes he describes. His sentiments are expressed with boldness, and sometimes with the acerbity of party feeling. He has been much commended by the best Spanish writers, such as Zurita, Zúñiga, Marina, Clemente, for his veracity. The internal evidence of this is sufficiently strong in his delineation of those scenes in which he was personally engaged; in his account of others, it will not be difficult to find examples of negligence and inaccuracy. His Latin "Decades" were probably composed with more care, as addressed to a learned class of readers; and they are lauded by Nic. Antonio as an elegant commentary, worthy to be assiduously studied by all who would acquaint themselves with the history of their country. The art of printing has done less perhaps for Spain than for any other country in Europe; and these two valuable histories are still permitted to swell the rich treasure of manuscripts with which her libraries are overloaded.

Enriquez del Castillo, a native of Segovia, was the chaplain and historiographer of King Henry IV., and a member of his privy council. His situation not only made him acquainted with the policy and intrigues of the court, but with the personal feelings of the monarch, who reposed entire confidence in him, which Castillo repaid with uniform loyalty. He appears very early to have commenced his Chronicle of Henry's reign. On the occupation of Segovia by the young Alfonso, after the battle of Olmedo, in 1467, the chronicler, together with the portion of his history then compiled, was unfortunate enough to fall into the enemy's hands. The author was soon summoned to the presence of Alfonso and his counsellors, to hear and justify, as he could, certain passages of what they termed his "false and frivolous narrative." Castillo, hoping little from a defence before such a prejudiced tribunal, resolutely kept his peace; and it might have gone hard with him, had it not been for his ecclesiastical profession. He subsequently escaped, but never recovered his manuscripts, which were probably destroyed; and, in the introduction to his Chronicle, he laments that he has been obliged to rewrite the first half of his master's reign.

Notwithstanding Castillo's familiarity with public affairs, his work is not written in the business-like style of Palencia's. The sentiments exhibit a moral sensibility scarcely to have been expected, even from a minister of

religion, in the corrupt court of Henry IV.; and the honest indignation of the writer, at the abuses which he witnessed, sometimes breaks fort in a strain of considerable eloquence. The spirit of his work, notwithstanding its abundant loyalty, may be also commended for its candour in relation to the partisans of Isabella; which has led some critics to suppose that it underwent a *réfucimento* after the accession of that princess to the throne.

Castillo's Chronicle, more fortunate than that of his rival, has been published in a handsome form under the care of Don Jose Miguel de Flores, Secretary of the Spanish Academy of History, to whose learned labours in this way Castilian literature is so much indebted.

## CHAPTER V.

ACCESSION OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.—WAR OF THE SUCCESSION.—  
BATTLE OF TORO.

1474—1476.

Isabella proclaimed Queen.—Settlement of the Crown.—Alfonso of Portugal supports Joanna.—Invades Castile.—Retreat of the Castilians.—Appropriation of the Church Plate.—Reorganisation of the Army.—Battle of Toro. — Submission of the whole Kingdom.—Peace with France and Portugal.—Joanna takes the Veil.—Death of John II. of Aragon.

Most of the contemporary writers are content to derive Isabella's title to the crown of Castile from the illegitimacy of her rival Joanna. But, as this fact, whatever probability it may receive from the avowed licentiousness of the queen, and some other collateral circumstances, was never established by legal evidence, or even made the subject of legal inquiry, it cannot reasonably be adduced as affording in itself a satisfactory basis for the pretensions of Isabella.\*

\* The popular belief of Joanna's illegitimacy was founded on the following circumstances :—1. King Henry's first marriage with Blanche of Navarre was dissolved, after it had subsisted twelve years, on the publicly alleged ground of "impotence in the parties." 2. The Princess Joanna, the only child of his second queen, Joanna of Portugal, was not born until the eighth year of her marriage, and long after she had become notorious for her gallantries. 3. Although Henry kept several mistresses, whom he maintained in so ostentatious a manner as to excite general scandal, he was never known to have had issue by any one of them. — To counterbalance the presumption afforded by these facts, it should be stated, that

These are to be derived from the will of the nation as expressed by its representatives in cortes. The power of this body to interpret the laws regulating the succession, and to determine the succession itself, in the most absolute manner, is incontrovertible, having been established by repeated precedents from a very ancient period.\* In the present instance, the legislature, soon after the birth of Joanna, tendered the usual oaths of allegiance to her as heir apparent to the monarchy. On a subsequent occasion, however, the cortes, for reasons deemed sufficient by itself, and under a conviction that its consent to the preceding measure had been obtained through an undue influence on the part of the crown, reversed its former acts, and did homage to Isabella as the only true and lawful successor.† In this disposition the legislature continued so resolute,

Henry appears, to the day of his death, to have cherished the princess Joanna as his own offspring, and that Beltran de la Cueva, duke of Albuquerque, her reputed father, instead of supporting her claims to the crown on the demise of Henry, as would have been natural had he been entitled to the honours of paternity, attached himself to the adverse faction of Isabella.

Queen Joanna survived her husband about six months only. Father Florez (Reynas Cathólicas, tom. ii. pp. 760-786) has made a flimsy attempt to whitewash her character; but, to say nothing of almost every contemporary historian, as well as of the official documents of that day, (see Marina, Teoría, tom. iii. part 2, No. 11,) the stain has been too deeply fixed by the repeated testimony of Castillo, the loyal adherent of her own party, to be thus easily effaced.

It is said, however, that the queen died in the odour of sanctity; and Ferdinand and Isabella caused her to be deposited in a rich mausoleum, erected by the ambassador to the court of the Great Tamerlane for himself, but from which his remains were somewhat unceremoniously ejected, in order to make room for those of his royal mistress.

\* See this subject discussed *in extenso*, by Marina, Teoría, part. 2, cap. 1-10.—See, also, Introd. sect. I. of this History.

† See part I. chap. 3.

that, notwithstanding Henry twice convoked the states for the express purpose of renewing their allegiance to Joanna, they refused to comply with the summons; and thus Isabella, at the time of her brother's death, possessed a title to the crown unimpaired, and derived from the sole authority which could give it a constitutional validity. It may be added, that the princess was so well aware of the real basis of her pretensions, that in her several manifestoes, although she adverts to the popular notion of her rival's illegitimacy, she rests the strength of her cause on the sanction of the cortes.

On learning Henry's death, Isabella signified to the inhabitants of Segovia, where she then resided, her desire of being proclaimed queen in that city, with the solemnities usual on such occasions.† Accordingly, on the following morning, being the 13th of December 1471, a numerous assembly, consisting of the nobles, clergy, and public magistrates in their robes of office, waited on her at the alcazar or castle, and, receiving her under a canopy of rich brocade, escorted her in solemn procession to the principal square of the city, where a broad platform or scaffold had been erected for the performance of the ceremony. Isabella, royally attired, rode on a Spanish jennet, whose bridle was held by two of the civic functionaries, while an officer of her court preceded her on horseback, bearing aloft a naked sword, the symbol of sovereignty. On arriving at the square she alighted from her palfrey, and, ascending the platform,

\* See part I. chap. 4, note 2.

† Fortunately, this strong place, in which the royal treasure was deposited, was in the keeping of Andres de Cabrera, the husband of Isabella's friend, Beatrice de Bobadilla. His co-operation at this juncture was so important, that Oviedo does not hesitate to declare, "It lay with him to make Isabella or her rival queen, as he listed."—*Quincuagenas*, MS. lat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23.

seated herself on a throne which had been prepared for her. A herald with a loud voice proclaimed, "Castile, Castile for the king Don Ferdinand and his consort Doña Isabella, queen proprietor (*reina propietaria*) of these kingdoms!" The royal standards were then unfurled, while the peal of bells and the discharge of ordnance from the castle publicly announced the accession of the new sovereign. Isabella, after receiving the homage of her subjects, and swearing to maintain inviolate the liberties of the realm, descended from the platform, and attended by the same *cortége*, moved slowly towards the cathedral church; where, after *Te Deum* had been chanted, she prostrated herself before the principal altar, and, returning thanks to the Almighty for the protection hitherto vouchsafed her, implored him to enlighten her future counsels, so that she might discharge the high trust reposed in her with equity and wisdom. Such were the simple forms that attended the coronation of the monarchs of Castile previously to the sixteenth century.\*

The cities favourable to Isabella's cause, comprehending far the most populous and wealthy throughout the kingdom, followed the example of Segovia, and raised the royal standard for their new sovereign. The principal *grandees*, as well as most of the inferior nobility, soon presented themselves from all quarters, in order to tender the customary oaths of allegiance; and an assembly of the estates, convened for the ensuing month of February at Segovia, imparted, by a similar ceremony, a constitutional sanction to these proceedings.†

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 10.—Carbajal, Anales, MS. año 75.—Alonso de Palencia, Corónica, MS. part 2, cap. 98.—L. Marinee, Cosas Memorables, fol. 155.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 2. dial. 3.

† Marina, whose peculiar researches and opportunities make him the best, is my only authority for this convention of the cortes. (Teoria,

On Ferdinand's arrival from Aragon, where he was staying at the time of Henry's death, occupied with the war of Roussillon, a disagreeable discussion took place in regard to the respective authority to be enjoyed by the husband and wife in the administration of the government. Ferdinand's relatives, with the admiral Henriquez at their head, contended that the crown of Castile, and of course, the exclusive sovereignty, was limited to him as the nearest male representative of the house of Trastamara. Isabella's friends, on the other hand, insisted that these rights devolved solely on her, as the lawful heir and proprietor of the kingdom. The affair was finally referred to the arbitration of the cardinal of Spain and the archbishop of Toledo, who, after careful examination, established by undoubted precedent that the exclusion of females from the succession did not obtain in Castile and Leon, as was the case in Aragon;\* that Isabella was consequently sole heir of these dominions; and that whatever authority Ferdinand might possess could only be derived through her. A settlement was then made on

tom. ii. pp. 63, 69.) The extracts he makes from the writ of summons, however, seem to imply that the object was not the recognition of Ferdinand and Isabella, but of their daughter, as successor to the crown. Among the nobles, who openly testified their adhesion to Isabella, were no less than four of the six individuals to whom the late king had intrusted the guardianship of his daughter Joanna; viz. the grand cardinal of Spain, the constable of Castile, the duke of Infantado, and the count of Benevente.

\* A precedent for female inheritance, in the latter kingdom, was subsequently furnished by the undisputed succession and long reign of Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and mother of Charles V. The introduction of the Salic law, under the Bourbon dynasty, opposed a new barrier, indeed; but this has been since swept away by the decree of the late monarch, Ferdinand VII., and the paramount authority of the cortes; and we may hope that the successful assertion of her lawful rights by Isabella II. will put this much vexed question at rest for ever.

the basis of the original marriage contract.\* All municipal appointments, and collation to ecclesiastical benefices, were to be made in the name of both with the advice and consent of the queen. All fiscal nominations, and issues from the treasury, were to be subject to her order. The commanders of the fortified places were to render homage to her alone. Justice was to be administered by both conjointly, when residing in the same place; and by each independently, when separate. Proclamations and letters patent were to be subscribed with the signatures of both; their images were to be stamped on the public coin, and the united arms of Castile and Aragon emblazoned on a common seal.†

Ferdinand, it is said, was so much dissatisfied with an arrangement which vested the essential rights of sovereignty in his consort, that he threatened to return to Aragon; but Isabella reminded him, that this distribution of power was

\* See part I. chap. 3.—Ferdinand's powers are not so narrowly limited, at least not so carefully defined, in this settlement as in the marriage articles. Indeed, the instrument is much more concise and general in its whole import.

† Salazar de Mendoza, *Crón. del Gran Cardenal*, lib. 1, cap. 40.—L. Marínco, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 155, 156.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 222-224.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 35, 36.—See the original instrument signed by Ferdinand and Isabella, cited at length in Dormer's *Discursos Varios de Historia*, (Zaragoza, 1683,) pp. 295-313.—It does not appear that the settlement was ever confirmed by, or indeed presented to, the cortes. Marina speaks of it, however, as emanating from that body. (*Teoría*, tom. ii. pp. 63, 64.) From Pulgar's statement, as well as from the instrument itself, it seems to have been made under no other auspices or sanction than that of the great nobility and cavaliers. Marina's eagerness to find a precedent for the interference of the popular branch, in all the great concerns of government, has usually quickened, but sometimes clouded, his optics. In the present instance he has undoubtedly confounded the irregular proceedings of the aristocracy exclusively, with the deliberate acts of the legislature.



rather nominal than real ; that their interests were indivisible ; that his will would be hers ; and that the principle of the exclusion of females from the succession, if now established, would operate to the disqualification of their only child, who was a daughter. By these and similar arguments the queen succeeded in soothing her offended husband, without compromising the prerogatives of her crown.

Although the principal body of the nobility, as has been stated, supported Isabella's cause, there were a few families, and some of them the most potent in Castile, who seemed determined to abide the fortunes of her rival. Among these was the marquis of Villena, who, inferior to his father in talent for intrigue, was of an intrepid spirit, and is commended by one of the Spanish historians as " the best lance in the kingdom." His immense estates, stretching from Toledo to Murcia, gave him an extensive influence over the southern regions of New Castile. The duke of Arévalo possessed a similar interest in the frontier province of Estramadura. With these were combined the grand master of Calatrava and his brother, together with the young marquis of Cadiz, and, as it soon appeared, the archbishop of Toledo. This latter dignitary, whose heart had long swelled with secret jealousy at the rising fortunes of the cardinal Mendoza, could no longer brook the ascendancy which that prelate's consummate sagacity and insinuating address had given him over the counsels of his young sovereigns. After some awkward excuses, he abruptly withdrew to his own estates ; nor could the most conciliatory advances on the part of the queen, nor the deprecatory letters of the old king of Aragon, soften his inflexible temper, or induce him to resume his station at the court ; until it soon became apparent from his correspondence with Isabella's enemies, that he was busy in

undermining the fortunes of the very individual whom he had so zealously laboured to elevate.<sup>+</sup>

Under the auspices of this coalition, propositions were made to Alfonso the Fifth, king of Portugal, to vindicate the title of his niece Joanna to the throne of Castile, and, by espousing her, to secure to himself the same rich inheritance. An exaggerated estimate was, at the same time, exhibited of the resources of the confederates, which, when combined with those of Portugal, would readily enable them to crush the usurpers, unsupported as the latter must be by the co-operation of Aragon, whose arms already found sufficient occupation with the French.

Alfonso, whose victories over the Barbary Moors had given him the cognomen of "the African," was precisely of a character to be dazzled by the nature of this enterprise. The protection of an injured princess, his near relative, was congenial with the spirit of chivalry; while the conquest of an opulent territory, adjacent to his own, would not only satisfy his dreams of glory, but the more solid cravings of avarice. In this disposition he was confirmed by his son, prince John, whose hot and enterprising temper found a nobler scope for ambition in such a war, than in the conquest of a horde of African savages.<sup>†</sup>

Still there were a few among Alfonso's counsellors, possessed of sufficient coolness to discern the difficulties of the undertaking. They reminded him, that the Castilian nobles,

\* Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS. part 2, cap. 94.—Gairbay, *Compendio*, lib. 18, cap. 8.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 10, 11.—Pulgar, *Letras*, (Madrid, 1775,) let. 3, al Arzobispo de Toledo.—The archbishop's jealousy of Cardinal Mendoza is uniformly reported by the Spanish writers as the true cause of his defection from the queen.

† Ray de Pina, *Crónica d'el Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 173, apud *Colleção de Livros Inéditos de Historia Portugueza*, (Lisboa, 1790-93,) tom. i.

on whom he principally relied, were the very persons who had formerly been most instrumental in defeating the claims of Joanna, and securing the succession to her rival; that Ferdinand was connected by blood with the most powerful families of Castile; that the great body of the people, the middle as well as the lower classes, were fully penetrated, not only with a conviction of the legality of Isabella's title, but with a deep attachment to her person; while, on the other hand, their proverbial hatred of Portugal would make them too impatient of interference from that quarter to admit the prospect of permanent success.\*

These objections, sound as they were, were overruled by John's impetuosity, and the ambition or avarice of his father. War was accordingly resolved on; and Alfonso, after a vaunting, and, as may be supposed, ineffectual summons to the Castilian sovereigns to resign their crown in favour of Joanna, prepared for the immediate invasion of the kingdom at the head of an army, amounting, according to the Portuguese historians, to five thousand six hundred horse and fourteen thousand foot. This force, though numerically not so formidable as might have been expected, comprised the flower of the Portuguese chivalry, burning with the hope of reaping similar laurels to those won of old by their fathers on the plains of Aljubarrotta; while its deficiency in numbers was to be amply compensated by

\* The ancient rivalry between the two nations was exasperated into the most deadly rancour by the fatal defeat at Aljubarrotta, in 1385, in which fell the flower of the Castilian nobility. King John I. wore mourning, it is said, to the day of his death, in commemoration of this disaster. (Pauky Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 394-396.—La Clède, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iii. pp. 357-359.) Pulgar, the secretary of Ferdinand and Isabella, addressed, by their order, a letter of remonstrance to the King of Portugal, in which he endeavours, by numerous arguments founded on expediency and justice, to dissuade him from his meditated enterprise. —Pulgar, *Letras*, No. 7.

recruits from the disaffected party in Castile, who would eagerly flock to its banners, on its advance across the borders. At the same time negotiations were entered into with the king of France, who was invited to make a descent upon Biscay, by a promise, somewhat premature, of a cession of the conquered territory.

Early in May, (1475,) the king of Portugal put his army in motion, and, entering Castile by the way of Estramadura held a northerly course towards Placencia, where he was met by the duke of Arevalo and the marquis of Villena, and by the latter nobleman presented to the princess Joanna, his destined bride. On the 12th of the month he was affianced with all becoming pomp to this lady, then scarcely thirteen years of age; and a messenger was despatched to the court of Rome, to solicit a dispensation for their marriage, rendered necessary by the consanguinity of the parties. The royal pair were then proclaimed, with the usual solemnities, sovereigns of Castile; and circulars were transmitted to the different cities, setting forth Joanna's title and requiring their allegiance.\*

After some days given to festivity, the army resumed its march, still in a northerly direction, upon Arevalo, where Alfonso determined to await the arrival of the reinforcements which he expected from his Castilian allies. Had he struck at once into the southern districts of Castile, where most of

\* Ruy de Pina, *Crónica d'el Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 174-178.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 16, 17, 18.—Bernaldez states, that Alfonso, previously to his invasion, caused largesses of plate and money to be distributed among the Castilian nobles, whom he imagined to be well affected towards him. Some of them, the duke of Alva in particular, received his presents and used them in the cause of Isabella.—Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 396-398.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 230-240.—La Clède, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iii. p. 360-362.—Pulgar, *Crónica*, p. 51.—L. Maríneo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 156.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 3.

those friendly to his cause were to be found, and immediately commenced active operations with the aid of the marquis of Cadiz, who, it was understood, was prepared to support him in that quarter, it is difficult to say what might have been the result. Ferdinand and Isabella were so wholly unprepared at the time of Alfonso's invasion, that it is said they could scarcely bring five hundred horse to oppose it. By this opportune delay at Arevalo, they obtained space for preparation. Both of them were indefatigable in their efforts. Isabella, we are told, was frequently engaged through the whole night in dictating despatches to her secretaries. She visited in person such of the garrison towns as required to be confirmed in their allegiance, performing long and painful journeys on horseback with surprising celerity, and enduring fatigues which, as she was at that time in delicate health, wellnigh proved fatal to her constitution.\* On an excursion to Toledo, she determined to make one effort more to regain the confidence of her ancient minister, the archbishop. She accordingly sent an envoy to inform him of her intention to wait on him in person at his residence in Alcalá de Henares. But the surly prelate, far from being moved by this condescension, returned for answer, that, "if the queen entered by one door, he would go out at the other," she did not choose to compromise her dignity by any further advances.

By Isabella's extraordinary exertions, as well as those of her husband, the latter found himself, in the beginning of July, at the head of a force amounting in all to four thousand men-at-arms, eight thousand light horse, and thirty-thousand foot—an ill-disciplined militia, chiefly drawn from the mountainous districts of the north, which mani-

\* The queen, who was at that time in a state of pregnancy, brought on a miscarriage by her incessant personal exposure.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 234.

fested peculiar devotion to his cause ; his partisans in the south being pre-occupied with suppressing domestic revolt, and with incursions on the frontiers of Portugal.\*

Meanwhile Alfonso, after an unprofitable detention of nearly two months at Arevalo, marched on Toro, which, by a preconcerted agreement, was delivered into his hands by the governor of the city, although the fortress, under the conduct of a woman, continued to maintain a gallant defence. While occupied with its reduction, Alfonso was invited to receive the submission of the adjacent city and castle of Zamora. The defection of these places, two of the most considerable in the province of Leon, and peculiarly important to the king of Portugal from their vicinity to his dominions, was severely felt by Ferdinand, who determined to advance at once against his rival, and bring their quarrel to the issue of a battle ; in this, acting in opposition to the more cautious counsel of his father, who recommended the policy, usually judged most prudent for an invaded country, of acting on the defensive, instead of risking all on the chances of a single action.

Ferdinand arrived before Toro on the 19th of July, and immediately drew up his army before its walls in order of battle. As the king of Portugal, however, still kept within his defences, Ferdinand sent a herald into his camp, to defy him to a fair field of fight with his whole army, or, if he declined this, to invite him to decide their differences by personal combat. Alfonso accepted the latter alternative ; but, a dispute arising respecting the guarantee for the performance of the engagements on either side, the whole affair evaporated, as usual, in an empty vaunt of chivalry.

\* Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 75.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 45-55, —Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. vii. p. 411.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 23.

The Castilian army, from the haste with which it had been mustered, was wholly deficient in battering artillery and in other means for annoying a fortified city; and, as its communications were cut off, in consequence of the neighbouring fortresses being in possession of the enemy, it soon became straitened for provisions. It was accordingly decided in a council of war to retreat without further delay. No sooner was this determination known, than it excited general dissatisfaction throughout the camp. The soldiers loudly complained that the king was betrayed by his nobles; and a party of over-loyal Biscayans, inflamed by the suspicions of a conspiracy against his person, actually broke into the church where Ferdinand was conferring with his officers, and bore him off in their arms from the midst of them to his own tent, notwithstanding his reiterated explanations and remonstrances. The ensuing retreat was conducted in so disorderly a manner by the mutinous soldiery, that Alfonso, says a contemporary, had he but sallied with two thousand horse, might have routed and perhaps annihilated the whole army. Some of the troops were detached to reinforce the garrisons of the loyal cities, but most of them dispersed again among their native mountains. The citadel of Toro soon afterwards capitulated. The archbishop of Toledo, considering these events as decisive of the fortunes of the war, now openly joined the king of Portugal at the head of five hundred lances, boasting at the same time, that "he had raised Isabella from the distaff, and would soon send her back to it again."\*

So disastrous an introduction to the campaign might

\* Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 18.—Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 398-400.—Pulgar, *Crónica*, pp. 55-60.—Ray de Pina, *Chrón. d'el Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 179.—La Clède, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iii. p. 366.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 240-243.

indeed well fill Isabella's bosom with anxiety. The revolutionary movements, which had so long agitated Castile, had so far unsettled every man's political principles, and the allegiance of even the most loyal hung so loosely about them, that it was difficult to estimate how far it might be shaken by such a blow occurring at this crisis.\* Fortunately, Alfonso was in no condition to profit by his success. His Castilian allies had experienced the greatest difficulty in enlisting their vassals in the Portuguese cause; and, far from furnishing him with the contingents which he had expected, found sufficient occupation in the defence of their own territories against the loyal partisans of Isabella. At the same time, numerous squadrons of light cavalry from Estramadura and Andalusia, penetrating into Portugal, carried the most terrible desolation over the whole extent of its unprotected borders. The Portuguese knights loudly murmured at being cooped up in Toro, while their own country was made the theatre of war; and Alfonso saw himself under the necessity of detaching so considerable a portion of his army for the defence of his frontier, as entirely to cripple his future operations. So deeply, indeed, was he impressed, by these circumstances, with the difficulty of his enterprise, that, in a negotiation with the Castilian sovereigns at this time, he expressed a willingness to resign his claims to their crown, in consideration of the cession of Galicia, together with the cities of Toro and Zamora, and a considerable sum of money. Ferdinand and his ministers, it is reported, would have accepted the proposal; but Isabella, although acquiescing in the stipulated money pay-

\* "Pues no os maravilleis de eso," says Oviedo, in relation to these troubles, "que nó solo entre hermanos suele haber esas diferencias, mas entre padre é hijo lo vimos ayer, como suelen decir."—Quincuagenas, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 3.



ment, would not consent to the dismemberment of a single inch of the Castilian territory.

In the meantime both the queen and her husband, undimayed by past reverses, were making every exertion for the re-organisation of an army on a more efficient footing. To accomplish this object, an additional supply of funds became necessary, since the treasure of King Henry, delivered into their hands by Andres de Cabrera, at Segovia, had been exhausted by the preceding operations. The old king of Aragon advised them to imitate their ancestor Henry the Second, of glorious memory, by making liberal grants and alienations in favour of their subjects, which they might, when more firmly seated on the throne, resume at pleasure. Isabella, however, chose rather to trust to the patriotism of her people, than have recourse to so unworthy a stratagem. She accordingly convened an assembly of the states, in the month of August, (1475,) at Medina del Campo. As the nation had been too far impoverished under the late reign to admit of fresh exactions, a most extraordinary expedient was devised for meeting the stipulated requisitions. It was proposed to deliver into the royal treasury half the amount of plate belonging to the churches throughout the kingdom, to be redeemed in the term of three years, for the sum of thirty *cuentos*, or millions, of maravedis. The clergy, who were very generally attached to Isabella's interest, far from discouraging this

<sup>1</sup> The royal coffers were found to contain about 10,000 marks of silver. (Pulgar, Reyes Catól. p. 54.) Isabella presented Cabrera with a golden goblet from her table, engaging that a similar present should be regularly made to him and his successors on the anniversary of his surrender of Segovia. She subsequently gave a more solid testimony of her gratitude, by raising him to the rank of marquis of Moya, with the grant of an estate suitable to his new dignity.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS. lat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23.

startling proposal, endeavoured to vanquish the queen's repugnance to it, by arguments and pertinent illustrations drawn from Scripture. This transaction certainly exhibits a degree of disinterestedness, on the part of this body, most unusual in that age and country, as well as a generous confidence in the good faith of Isabella, of which she proved herself worthy by the punctuality with which she redeemed it.<sup>a</sup>

Thus provided with the necessary funds, the sovereigns set about enforcing new levies and bringing them under better discipline, as well as providing for their equipment in a manner more suitable to the exigencies of the service, than was done for the preceding army. The remainder of the summer and the ensuing autumn were consumed in these preparations, as well as in placing their fortified towns in a proper posture of defence, and in the reduction of such places as held out against them. The king of Portugal, all this while, lay with his diminished forces in Toro, making a sally on one occasion only, for the relief of his friends, which was frustrated by the sleepless vigilance of Isabella.

Early in December, Ferdinand passed from the siege of Burgos, in old Castile, to Zamora, whose inhabitants expressed a desire to return to their ancient allegiance; and, with the co-operation of the citizens, supported by a large

<sup>a</sup> The indignation of Dr. Salazar de Mendoza is roused by this misapplication of the church's money, which he avers "no necessity whatever could justify." This worthy canon flourished in the 17th century. (*Crón. del Gran Cardenal*, p. 147.—*Pulgai, Reyes Catól.* pp. 60-62.—*Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 400.—*Rades y Andrada, Las Tres Ordenes*, part. 1, fol. 67.—*Zurita, Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 213.—*Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 18, 20.) Zuñiga gives some additional particulars respecting the grant of the cortes, which I do not find verified by any contemporary author.—*Annales de Sevilla*, p. 372.

detachment from his main army, he prepared to invest its citadel. As the possession of this post would effectually intercept Alfonso's communications with his own country, he determined to relieve it at every hazard; and for this purpose despatched a messenger into Portugal, requiring his son, prince John, to reinforce him with such levies as he could speedily raise. All parties now looked forward with eagerness to a general battle, as to a termination of the evils of this long-protracted war.

The Portuguese prince, having with difficulty assembled a corps amounting to two thousand lances and eight thousand infantry, took a northerly circuit round Galicia, and effected a junction with his father in Toro, on the 14th of February, 1476. Alfonso, thus reinforced, transmitted a pompous circular to the pope, the king of France, his own dominions, and those well affected to him in Castile, proclaiming his immediate intention of taking the usurper, or of driving him from the kingdom. On the night of the 17th, having first provided for the security of the city, by leaving in it a powerful reserve, Alfonso drew off the residue of his army, probably not much exceeding three thousand five hundred horse and five thousand foot, well provided with artillery and with arquebuses, which latter engine was still of so clumsy and unwieldy construction as not to have entirely superseded the ancient weapons of European warfare. The Portuguese army, traversing the bridge of Toro, pursued their march along the southern side of the Douro, and reached Zamora, distant only a few leagues, before the dawn.\*

\* Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. años 75, 76.—Ruy de Pina, *Crónica del Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 187, 189.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 20, 22.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 63-78.—L. Marincó, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 156.—Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 401, 404.—

At break of day, the Castilians were surprised by the array of floating banners, and martial panoply glittering in the sun from the opposite side of the river, while the discharges of artillery still more unequivocally announced the presence of the enemy. Ferdinand could scarcely believe that the Portuguese monarch, whose avowed object had been the relief of the castle of Zamora, should have selected a position so obviously unsuitable for this purpose. The intervention of the river, between him and the fortress situated at the northern extremity of the town, prevented him from relieving it, either by throwing succours into it, or by annoying the Castilian troops, who, intrenched in comparative security within the walls and houses of the city, were enabled by means of certain elevated positions, well garnished with artillery, to inflict much heavier injury on their opponents than they could possibly receive from them. Still Ferdinand's men, exposed to the double fire of the fortress and the besiegers, would willingly have come to an engagement with the latter; but the river, swollen by winter torrents, was not fordable; and the bridge, the only direct avenue to the city, was enfiladed by the enemy's cannon, so as to render a sally in that direction altogether impracticable. During this time, Isabella's squadrons of light cavalry, hovering on the skirts of the Portuguese camp, effectually cut off its supplies, and soon reduced it to great straits for subsistence. This circumstance, together with the tidings of the rapid advance of additional forces to the support of Ferdinand, determined Alfonso, contrary to all expectation, on an immediate retreat; and accordingly on the morning of the 1st of March, being little less than a fortnight from the time in which he commenced this empty gasconade, the

Several of the contemporary Castilian historians compute the Portuguese army at double the amount given in the text.

Portuguese army quitted its position before Zamora, with the same silence and celerity with which it had occupied it.

Ferdinand's troops would instantly have pushed after the fugitives, but the latter had demolished the southern extremity of the bridge before their departure: so that although some few could obtain immediate passage, the great body of the army was necessarily detained until the repairs were completed, which occupied more than three hours. With all the expedition they could use, therefore, and leaving their artillery behind them, they did not succeed in coming up with the enemy until nearly four o'clock in the afternoon, as the latter was defiling through a narrow pass formed by a crest of precipitous hills on one side, and the Douro on the other, at the distance of about five miles from the city of Toro.

A council of war was then called to decide on the expediency of an immediate assault. It was objected that the strong position of Toro would effectually cover the retreat of the Portuguese in case of their discomfiture; that they would speedily be reinforced by fresh recruits from that city, which would make them more than a match for Ferdinand's army, exhausted by a toilsome march, as well as by its long fast, which it had not broken since the morning; and that the celerity with which it had moved had compelled it, not only to abandon its artillery, but to leave a considerable portion of the heavy-armed infantry in the rear. Notwithstanding the weight of these objections, such were the high spirit of the troops and their eagerness to come to action, sharpened by the view of the quarry, which after a wearisome chase seemed ready to fall into

\* Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 82-85.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 252, 253.—Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 401, 405.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 23.—Ruy de Pina, *Crón. d'el Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 190.

their hands, that they were thought more than sufficient to counterbalance every physical disadvantage, and the question of battle was decided in the affirmative.

As the Castilian army emerged from the defile into a wide and open plain, they found that the enemy had halted and was already forming in order of battle. The king of Portugal led the centre, with the archbishop of Toledo on his right wing, its extremity resting on the Douro; while the left, comprehending the arquebusiers and the strength of the cavalry, was placed under the command of his son, prince John. The numerical force of the two armies, although in favour of the Portuguese, was nearly equal, amounting probably in each to less than ten thousand men, about one-third being cavalry. Ferdinand took his station in the centre, opposite his rival, having the admiral and the duke of Alva on his left; while his right wing, distributed into six battles or divisions, under their several commanders, was supported by a detachment of men-at-arms from the provinces of Leon and Galicia.

The action commenced in this quarter. The Castilians, raising the war-cry of "St. James and St. Lazarus," advanced on the enemy's left under prince John, but were saluted with such a brisk and well-directed fire from his arquebusiers, that their ranks were disconcerted. The Portuguese men-at-arms, charging them at the same time, augmented their confusion, and compelled them to fall back precipitately on the narrow pass in their rear, where, being supported by some fresh detachments from the reserve, they were with difficulty rallied by their officers, and again brought into the field. In the meanwhile, Ferdinand closed with the enemy's centre, and the action soon became general along the whole line. The battle raged with redoubled fierceness in the quarter where the presence of the two monarchs infused new ardour into their soldiers, who

fought as if conscious that this struggle was to decide the fate of their masters. The lances were shivered at the first encounter, and, as the ranks of the two armies mingled with each other, the men fought hand to hand with their swords, with a fury sharpened by the ancient rivalry of the two nations, making the whole a contest of physical strength rather than skill.

The royal standard of Portugal was torn to shreds in the attempt to seize it on the one side and to preserve it on the other; while its gallant bearer, Edward de Almeyda, after losing first his right arm, and then his left, in its defence, held it firmly with his teeth until he was cut down by the assailants. The armour of this knight was to be seen as late as Mariana's time in the cathedral church of Toledo, where it was preserved as a trophy of this desperate act of heroism, which brings to mind a similar feat recorded in Grecian story.

The old archbishop of Toledo and the cardinal Mendoza, who, like his reverend rival, had exchanged the crossier for the corslet, were to be seen on that day in the thickest of the *mêlée*. The holy wars with the infidels perpetuated the unbecoming spectacle of military ecclesiastics among the Spaniards to a still later period, and long after it had disappeared from the rest of civilised Europe.

At length, after an obstinate struggle of more than three hours, the valour of the Castilian troops prevailed, and the Portuguese were seen to give way in all directions. The duke of Alva, by succeeding in turning their flank, while they were thus vigorously pressed in front, completed their

\* Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 76.—L. Marmeo, *Casas Memorables*, i. l. 158.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 85-89.—Fina y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 404, 405.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. c. p. 23.—La Clède, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iii. pp. 378-383.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 252-255.\*

disorder, and soon converted their retreat into a rout. Some, attempting to cross the Douro, were drowned: and many, who endeavoured to effect an entrance into Toro, were entangled in the narrow defile of the bridge, and fell by the sword of their pursuers, or miserably perished in the river, which, bearing along their mutilated corpses, brought tidings of the fatal victory to Zamora. Such were the heat and fury of the pursuit, that the intervening night, rendered darker than usual by a driving rain-storm, alone saved the scattered remains of the army from destruction. Several Portuguese companies, under favour of this obscurity, contrived to elude their foes by shouting the Castilian battle-cry. Prince John, retiring with a fragment of his broken squadrons to a neighbouring eminence, succeeded, by lighting fires and sounding his trumpets, in rallying round him a number of fugitives; and, as the position he occupied was too strong to be readily forced, and the Castilian troops were too weary and well satisfied with their victory to attempt it, he retained possession of it till morning, when he made good his retreat into Toro. The king of Portugal, who was missing, was supposed to have perished in the battle, until, by advices received from him late on the following day, it was ascertained that he had escaped without personal injury, and with three or four attendants only, to the fortified castle of Castro-Nuño, some leagues distant from the field of action. Numbers of his troops, attempting to escape across the neighbouring frontiers into their own country, were maimed or massacred by the Spanish peasants, in retaliation of the excesses wantonly committed by them in their invasion of Castile. Ferdinand, shocked at this barbarity, issued orders for the protection of their persons, and freely gave safe-conducts to such as desired to return into Portugal. He even, with a degree of humanity more honourable, as well as more rare, than military



ness, distributed the booty among his soldiers, and brought into Zamora in triumph the captured cattle, and enabled them to return in safety to their native country.

The Castilian monarch resided on the field of battle till midnight, when he returned to Zamora, accompanied by the faithful vanguard of Spain and the army. He remained till the end of the month of May. The victors, with the great object of the triumph, were taken in the encampment, and there slain two thousand of the enemy slain or made prisoner. Queen Isabella, on receiving tidings of the conquest of Toledo where she then was, ordered a procession to the church of St. Isidore in the suburbs, in which she herself joined, walking barefoot with all humility, and offered up a devout thanksgiving to the God of battles for the victory with which he had crowned her arms.†

It was indeed a most auspicious victory, not so much from the immediate loss inflicted on the enemy, as from its moral influence on the Castilian nation. Such as had before vacillated in their faith, who, in the expressive lan-

\* Faria y Sousa claims the honours of the victory for the Portuguese, because Prince John kept the field in triumph. *León y Castilla*, with all his deference to the Portuguese historians, cannot swallow this. Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 405 410.—Ovando, *Quincuagenas*, MS. lib. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 8.—Salazar de Mendoza, *Crón. del Gran Cardenal*, lib. 1, cap. 46.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 85 98.—L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 158.—Cabrera, *Andal.*, MS. año 76.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 23.—Ruy de Pina, *Chron. del Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 191. Ferdinand, in allusion to Prince John, wrote to his wife, that, if it had not been for the chicken, the old cock would have been taken.—Garibay, *Compendio*, lib. 12, cap. 8.

† Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 90.—The sovereigns, in compliance with a previous vow, caused a superb monastery, dedicated to St. Francis, to be erected in Toledo, with the title of San Juan de los Reyes, in commemoration of their victory over the Portuguese. This edifice was still to be seen in Mariana's time.

guage of Bernaldez, "estaban aviva quien vence,"—who were prepared to take sides with the strongest, now openly proclaimed their allegiance to Ferdinand and Isabella; while most of those who had been arrayed in arms, or had manifested by any other overt act their hostility to the government, vied with each other in demonstrations of the most loyal submission, and sought to make the best terms for themselves, which they could. Among the latter, the duke of Arcevalo, who indeed had made overtures to this effect some time previous through the agency of his son, together with the grand master of Calatrava, and the count of Urueña, his brother, experienced the lenity of government, and were confirmed in the entire possession of their estates. The two principal delinquents, the marquis of Villena and the archbishop of Toledo, made a show of resistance for some time longer; but, after witnessing the demolition of their castles, the capture of their towns, the desertion of their vassals, and the sequestration of their revenues, were fain to purchase a pardon at the price of the most humble concessions, and the forfeiture of an ample portion of domain.

The castle of Zamora, expecting no further succours from Portugal, speedily surrendered, and this event was soon followed by the reduction of Madrid, Baeza, Toro, and other principal cities; so that in little more than six months from the date of the battle, the whole kingdom, with the exception of a few insignificant posts still garrisoned by the enemy, had acknowledged the supremacy of Ferdinand and Isabella.\*

\* Rides y Andradá, *Las Tres Ordenes*, tom. ii. fol. 79, 80.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 48-50, 55, 60.—Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 19, cap. 46, 48, 54, 58.—Ferreira, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. vii pp. 476-478, 517-519, 546.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS cap. 10.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS lib. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 8.

Soon after the victory of Toro, Ferdinand was enabled to concentrate a force amounting to fifty thousand men, for the purpose of repelling the French from Compostella, from which they had already twice been driven by the intrepid natives, and whence they at last fled with precipitation on receiving notice of the king's approach.\*

Alfonso, finding his authority in Castile thus rapidly melting away before the rising influence of Ferdinand and Isabella, withdrew with his virgin bride into Portugal, where he formed the resolution of visiting France in person, and soliciting succour from his ancient ally, Louis the Eleventh. In spite of every remonstrance, he put this extraordinary scheme into execution. He reached France, with a retinue of two hundred followers, in the month of September. He experienced everywhere the homage due to his exalted rank, and to the signal mark of confidence which he thus exhibited towards the French king. The keys of the cities were delivered into his hands, the prisoners were released from their dungeons, and his progress was attended by a general jubilee. His brother monarch, however, excused himself from affording more substantial proofs of his regard, until he should have closed the war then pending between him and Burgundy, and until Alfonso should have fortified his title to the Castilian crown by obtaining from the pope a dispensation for his marriage with Joanna.

The defeat and death of the duke of Burgundy, whose camp, before Nancy, Alfonso visited in the depth of winter, with the chimerical purpose of effecting a reconciliation between him and Louis, removed the former of these impediments; as, in good time, the compliance of the pope did the latter. But the king of Portugal found himself no nearer

\* Gaillard, *Rivalité*, tom. iii. pp. 290-292. — Charbajal, *Andes*, MS. año 76.

the object of his negotiations ; and, after waiting a whole year a needy suppliant at the court of Louis, he at length ascertained that his insidious host was concerting an arrangement with his mortal foes, Ferdinand and Isabella. Alfonso, whose character always had a spice of Quixotism in it, seems to have completely lost his wits at this last reverse of fortune. Overwhelmed with shame at his own credulity, he felt himself unable to encounter the ridicule which awaited his return to Portugal, and secretly withdrew, with two or three domestics only, to an obscure village in Normandy; whence he transmitted an epistle to Prince John, his son, declaring, " that, as all earthly vanities were dead within his bosom, he resolved to lay up an imperishable crown by performing a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and devoting himself to the service of God in some retired monastery ;" and he concluded with requesting his son " to assume the sovereignty at once, in the same manner as if he had heard of his father's death."\*

Fortunately Alfonso's retreat was detected before he had time to put his extravagant project in execution, and his trusty followers succeeded, though with considerable difficulty, in diverting him from it ; while the king of France, willing to be rid of his importunate guest, and unwilling perhaps to incur the odium of having driven him to so desperate an extremity as that of his projected pilgrimage, provided a fleet of ships to transport him back to his own dominions, where, to complete the farce, he arrived just five days after the ceremony of his son's coronation as king of Portugal (Nov. 15, 1478). Nor was it destined that the

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 27.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 56, 57.—Gaillard, Rivalité, tom. iii. pp. 290-292.—Zurita, Anales, lib. 19, cap. 56 ; lib. 20, cap. 10.—Ruy de Pina, Crón. d'el Rey Alfonso V., cap. 194-202.—Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. pp. 412-415.—Comines, Mémoires, liv. 5, chap. 7.

reckless monarch should place himself as he had hoped, in the arms of his youthful wife;—since the pliant pontiff, Sixtus the Fourth, was ultimately persuaded by the court of Castile to issue a new bull overruling the dispensation formerly conceded to the king and that had been obtained by a marriage of convenience.

Prince John, whether influenced by filial piety or prudence, refused the crown of Portugal to his father soon after his departure; and the old monarch was no sooner restored to his authority, than, burning with a thirst for vengeance, which made him insensible to every remonstrance, he was prepared to throw his country into combustion by reviving his enterprise against Castile.†

While these hostile movements were in progress, (1478,) Ferdinand, leaving his consort in possession of a sufficient force for the protection of the frontiers, made a journey into Bi-gay for the purpose of an interview with his father, the king of Aragon, to concert measures for the pacification of Navarre, which still continued to be rent with those sanguinary feuds that were bequeathed like a precious legacy from one generation to another.‡ In the autumn of the

\* According to Faria y Sousa, John was walking along the shores of the Tagus, with the duke of Braganza, and the cardinal archbishop of Lisbon, when he received the unexpected tidings of his father's return to Portugal. On his inquiring of his attendants how he should receive him, "How but as your king and father?" was the reply; at which John, knitting his brows together, skinned a stone, which he held in his hand, with much violence across the water. The cardinal, observing this, whispered to the duke of Braganza, "I will take good care that that stone does not rebound on me." Soon after, he left Portugal for Rome, where he fixed his residence. The duke lost his life on the scaffold for imputed treason, soon after John's accession.—*Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 416.

† Comines, *Mémoires*, liv. 5, chap. 7.—Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 116.—Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 20, cap. 25.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 27.

‡ This was the first meeting between father and son since the elevation

same year a treaty of peace was definitively adjusted between the plenipotentiaries of Castile and France, at St. Jean de Luz, in which it was stipulated, as a principal article, that Louis the Eleventh should disconnect himself from his alliance with Portugal, and give no further support to the pretensions of Joanna.\*

Thus released from apprehension in this quarter, the sovereigns were enabled to give their undivided attention to the defence of the western borders. Isabella, accordingly, early in the ensuing winter, passed into Estramadura for the purpose of repelling the Portuguese, and still more of suppressing the insurrectionary movements of certain of her own subjects, who, encouraged by the vicinity of Portugal, carried on from their private fortresses a most desolating and predatory warfare over the circumjacent territory. Private mansions and farm-houses were pillaged and burnt to the ground, the cattle and crops swept away in their forays, the highways beset, so that all travelling was at an end, all communication cut off, and a rich and populous district converted at once into a desert. Isabella, supported by a body of regular troops and a detachment of the Holy Brotherhood, took her station at Truxillo, as a central position, whence she might operate on the various points with the greatest facility. Her counsellors remonstrated against this

of the latter to the Castilian throne. King John would not allow Ferdinand to kiss his hand; he chose to walk on his left; he attended him to his quarters, and, in short, during the whole twenty days of their conference, manifested towards his son all the deference which, as a parent, he was entitled to receive from him. This he did on the ground that Ferdinand, as king of Castile, represented the elder branch of Trastamara, while he represented only the younger. It will not be easy to meet with an instance of more punctilious etiquette, even in Spanish history.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 75.

\* Salazar de Mendoza, *Crón. del Gran Cardenal*, p. 162.—Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 20, cap. 25.—Cabrera, *Anales*, MS. año 79.

exposure of her person in the very heart of the disaffected country; but she replied that "it was not for her to calculate perils or fatigues in her own cause, nor by an unseasonable timidity to dishearten her friends, with whom she was now resolved to remain until she had brought the war to a conclusion." She then gave immediate orders for laying siege at the same time to the fortified towns of Medellin, Merida, and Deloyosa.

At this juncture the infanta Doña Beatriz of Portugal, sister-in-law of king Alfonso, and maternal aunt of Isabella, touched with grief at the calamities in which she saw her country involved by the chimerical ambition of her brother, offered herself as the mediator of peace between the belligerent nations. Agreeably to her proposal, an interview took place between her and queen Isabella at the frontier town of Alcantara. As the conferences of the fair negotiators experienced none of the embarrassments usually incident to such deliberations, growing out of jealousy, distrust, and a mutual design to overreach, but were conducted in perfect good faith, and a sincere desire, on both sides, of establishing a cordial reconciliation, they resulted, after eight days' discussion, in a treaty of peace, with which the Portuguese infanta returned into her own country, in order to obtain the sanction of her royal brother. The articles contained in it, however, were too unpalatable to receive an immediate assent; and it was not until the expiration of six months, during which Isabella, far from relaxing, persevered with increased energy in her original plan of operations, that the treaty was formally ratified by the court of Lisbon.\* (Sept. 24, 1479.)

It was stipulated in this compact, that Alfonso should

\* Ray de Pina, *Crón. d'el Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 206.—L. Marner, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 166, 167.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 85, 89, 90.—Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 420, 421.—Ferreiras,

relinquish the title and armorial bearings which he had assumed as king of Castile; that he should resign his claims to the hand of Joanna, and no longer maintain her pretensions to the Castilian throne; that that lady should make the election within six months, either to quit Portugal for ever, or to remain there on the condition of wedding Don John, the infant son of Ferdinand and Isabella,\* so soon as he should attain a marriageable age, or to retire into a convent, and take the veil; that a general amnesty should be granted to all such Castilians as had supported Joanna's cause; and, finally, that the concord between the two nations should be cemented by the union of Alonso, son of the prince of Portugal, with the infanta Isabella, of Castile.†

Thus terminated, after a duration of four years and a half, the War of the Succession. It had fallen with peculiar fury on the border provinces of Leon and Estramadura, which, from their local position, had necessarily been kept in constant collision with the enemy. Its baneful effects were long visible there, not only in the general devastation and distress of the country, but in the moral disorganisation which the licentious and predatory habits of soldiers necessarily introduced among a simple peasantry. In a personal view, however, the war had terminated most triumphantly for Isabella, whose wise and vigorous administration, seconded by her husband's vigilance, had dispelled the storm which threatened to overwhelm her from abroad, and

Hist. d'Espagne, tom. vii. p. 538.—Carbajal, Anales, MS. año 79.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 28, 36, 37.

\* Born the preceding year, June 28th, 1478.—Carbajal, Anales, MS. anno eodem.

† L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 168.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos cap. 91.—Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. pp. 420, 421.—Ruy de Pina, Crón. d'el Rey Alfonso V., cap. 206.



established her in undisturbed possession of the throne of her ancestors.

Joanna's interests were alone compromised, or rather sacrificed by the treaty. She readily discerned in the provision for her marriage with an infant still in the cradle, only a flimsy veil intended to disguise the king of Portugal's desertion of her cause. Disgusted with a world in which she had hitherto experienced nothing but misfortune herself, and been the innocent cause of so much to others, she determined to renounce it for ever, and seek a shelter in the peaceful shades of the cloister. She accordingly entered the convent of Santa Clara at Coimbra, where, in the following year, she pronounced the irrevocable vows which divorced the unhappy subject of them for ever from her species. Two envoys from Castile, Ferdinand de Talavera, Isabella's confessor, and Dr. Diaz de Madrigal, one of her council, assisted at this affecting ceremony; and the reverend father, in a copious exhortation addressed to the youthful novice, assured her "that she had chosen the better part approved in the Evangelists; that, as spouse of the church, her chastity would be prolific of all spiritual delights; her subjection, liberty,—the only true liberty,—partaking more of Heaven than of earth. No kinsman," continued the disinterested preacher,—“no true friend or faithful counsellor, would divert you from so holy a purpose.”\*

\* Ruy de Pina, *Crónica del Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 20.—Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 421.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 92.—L. Marineo speaks of the *Señora muy excedente* as an inmate of the cloister at the period in which he was writing, 1522, (fol. 168.) Notwithstanding her “irrevocable vows,” however, Joanna several times quitted the monastery, and maintained a royal state under the protection of the Portuguese monarchs, who occasionally threatened to revive her dormant claims to the prejudice of the Castilian sovereigns. She may be said, consequently, to have formed the pivot on which turned, during her whole

Not long after this event, king Alfonso, penetrated with grief at the loss of his destined bride,—the “excellent lady,” as the Portuguese continued to call her,—resolved to imitate her example, and exchange his royal robes for the humble habit of a Franciscan friar. He consequently made preparation for resigning his crown anew, and retiring to the monastery of Varatojo, on a bleak eminence near the Atlantic ocean, when he suddenly fell ill, at Cintra, of a disorder which terminated his existence on the 28th. of August, 1481. Alfonso’s fiery character, in which all the elements of love, chivalry, and religion were blended together, resembled that of some paladin of romance; as the chimerical enterprises, in which he was perpetually engaged, seem rather to belong to the age of knight-errantry than to the fifteenth century.\*

In the beginning of the same year in which the pacification with Portugal secured to the sovereigns the undisputed possession of Castile, another crown devolved on Ferdinand by the death of his father, the king of Aragon, who expired at Barcelona, on the 20th of January, 1479, in the eighty-third year of his age.† Such was his admirable consti-

life, the diplomatic relations between the courts of Castile and Portugal, and to have been a principal cause of those frequent intermarriages between the royal families of the two countries, by which Ferdinand and Isabella hoped to detach the Portuguese crown from her interests. Joanna affected a royal style and magnificence, and subscribed herself, “I, the Queen,” to the last. She died in the palace at Lisbon, in 1530, in the 69th year of her age, having survived most of her ancient friends, suitors, and competitors.—Joanna’s history, subsequent to her taking the veil, has been collected, with his usual precision, by Señor Clemencin. (*Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. *Ilust.* 19.)

\* Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 423.—Ruy de Pina, *Crón. d’el Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 212.

† Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 79.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 42.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, (ed. Valencia,) tom. viii. p. 204, not—Abaen, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 295.

tution, that he retained not only his intellectual, but his bodily vigour unimpaired to the last. His long life was consumed in civil faction or foreign wars: and his restless spirit seemed to take delight in these tumultuous scenes, as best fitted to develop its various energies. He combined, however, with this intrepid and even ferocious temper, an address in the management of affairs, which led him to rely, for the accomplishment of his purposes, much more on negotiation than on positive force. He may be said to have been one of the first monarchs who brought into vogue that refined science of the cabinet, which was so profoundly studied by statesmen at the close of the fifteenth century,\* and on which his own son Ferdinand furnished the most practical commentary.

The crown of Navarre, which he had so handsomely usurped, devolved, on his decease, on his guilty daughter Leonora, countess of Foix, who, as we have before noticed, survived to enjoy it only three short weeks. Aragon, with its extensive dependencies, descended to Ferdinand. Thus the two crowns of Aragon and Castile, after a separation of more than four centuries, became indissolubly united, and the foundations were laid of the magnificent empire which was destined to overshadow every other European monarchy.

## CHAPTER VI.

## INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF CASTILE.

. 1475—1482.

Schemes of Reform.—Holy Brotherhood.—Tumult at Segovia.—The Queen's Presence of mind.—Severe execution of Justice.—Royal Progress through Andalusia.—Reorganisation of the Tribunals.—Castilian Jurisprudence.—Plans for reducing the Nobles.—Revocation of Grants.—Military Orders of Castile.—Masterships annexed to the Crown.—Ecclesiastical Usurpations resisted.—Restoration of Trade.—Prosperity of the Kingdom.

I HAVE deferred to the present chapter a consideration of the important changes introduced into the interior administration of Castile after the accession of Isabella, in order to present a connected and comprehensive view of them to the reader, without interrupting the progress of the military narrative. The subject may afford an agreeable relief to the dreary details of blood and battle with which we have been so long occupied, and which were rapidly converting the garden of Europe into a wilderness. Such details indeed seem to have the deepest interest for contemporary writers; but the eye of posterity, unclouded by personal interest or passion, turns with satisfaction from them to those cultivated arts which can make the wilderness to blossom as the rose.

If there be any being on earth that may be permitted to remind us of the Deity himself, it is the ruler of a mighty empire who employs the high powers intrusted to him

exclusively for the benefit of his people; who, endowed with intellectual gifts corresponding with his station, in an age of comparative barbarism, endeavoured to impart to his land the light of civilisation which illumined his own beam, and to create from the elements of discord the beautiful fabric of social order. Such was Isabella: and such the age in which she lived. And fortunate was it for Spain that her sceptre, at this crisis, was swayed by a sovereign possessed of sufficient wisdom to devise, and energy to execute, the most salutary schemes of reform, and thus to infuse a new principle of vitality into a government fast sinking into premature decrepitude.

The whole plan of reform introduced into the government by Ferdinand and Isabella, or more properly by the latter, to whom the internal administration of Castile was principally referred, was not fully unfolded until the completion of her reign. But the most important modifications were adopted previously to the war of Granada in 1482. These may be embraced under the following heads. I. The efficient administration of justice. II. The codification of the laws. III. The depression of the nobles. IV. The vindication of ecclesiastical rights belonging to the crown from the usurpation of the papal see. V. The regulation of trade. VI. The pre-eminence of royal authority.

I. The administration of justice.—In the dismal anarchy which prevailed in Henry the Fourth's reign, the authority of the monarch and of the royal judges had fallen into such contempt that the law was entirely without force. The cities afforded no better protection than the open country. Every man's hand seemed to be lifted against his neighbour. Property was plundered; persons were violated; the most holy sanctuaries profaned; and the numerous fortresses scattered throughout the country, instead of sheltering the

weak, converted into dens of robbers.\* Isabella saw no better way of checking this unbounded licence, than to direct against it that popular engine, the *Santa Hermandad*, or Holy Brotherhood, which had more than once shaken the Castilian monarchs on their throne.

The project for the re-organisation of this institution was introduced into the cortes held, the year after Isabella's accession at Madrigal, in 1476. It was carried into effect by the *junta* of deputies from the different cities of the kingdom, convened at Ducías in the same year. The new institution differed essentially from the ancient *hermandades*, since, instead of being partial in its extent, it was designed to embrace the whole kingdom; and instead of being directed, as had often been the case, against the crown itself, it was set in motion at the suggestion of the latter, and limited in its operation to the maintenance of public order. The crimes reserved for its jurisdiction were all violence or theft committed on the highways or in the open country, and in cities by such offenders as escaped into the country; house-breaking; rape; and resistance of justice. The specification of these crimes shows their frequency; and the reasons for designating the open country as the particular theatre for the operations of the *hermandad*, was the facility which criminals possessed there for eluding the pursuit of justice, especially under shelter

\* Among other examples, Pulgar mentions that of the alcaide of Castro-Nuño, Pedro de Mendana, who, from the strong-holds in his possession, committed such grievous devastations throughout the country, that the cities of Burgos, Avila, Salamanca, Segovia, Valladolid, Medina, and others in that quarter, were fain to pay him a tribute, (black mail,) to protect their territories from his rapacity. His successful example was imitated by many other knightly freebooters of the period. (*Reyes Católicos*, part 2, cap. 66.)—See also extracts cited by Saez from manuscript notices by contemporaries of Henry IV.—*Monedas de Enrique IV.*, pp. 1, 2.

of the strongholds or fortresses with which it was plentifully studded.

An annual contribution of eighteen thousand maravedis was assessed on every hundred *vecinos* or householders, for the equipment and maintenance of a horseman, whose duty it was to arrest offenders, and enforce the sentence of the law.\* On the flight of a criminal, the tocsins of the villages through which he was supposed to have passed were sounded; and the *quadrilleros* or officers of the brotherhood, stationed on the different points, took up the pursuit with such promptness as left little chance of escape. A court of two alcaldes was established in every town containing thirty families, for the trial of all crimes within the jurisdiction of the hermandad; and an appeal lay from them in specified cases to a supreme council. A general junta, composed of deputies from the cities throughout the kingdom, was annually convened for the regulation of affairs; and their instructions were transmitted to provincial juntas, who superintended the execution of them. The laws, enacted at different times in these assemblies, were compiled into a code under the sanction of the junta general at Tordelaguna, in 1485.\* The penalties for theft, which are literally written in blood, are specified in this code with singular precision. The most petty larceny was punished with stripes, the loss of a member, or of life itself; and the law was administered with an unsparing rigour, which nothing but the extreme necessity of the case could justify. Capital executions were conducted by shooting the criminal with arrows. The enactment relating to this provides that "the convict shall receive the sacrament like a Catholic Christian,

\* The *Quaderno* of the laws of the Hermandad has now become very rare. That in my possession was printed at Burgos, in 1527. It has since been incorporated with considerable extension into the *Recopilacion* of Philip II.

and after that be executed as speedily as possible, in order that his soul may pass the more securely.\*

Notwithstanding the popular constitution of the *hermandad*, and the obvious advantages attending its introduction at this juncture, it experienced so decided an opposition from the nobility, who discerned the check it was likely to impose on their authority, that it required all the queen's address and perseverance to effect its general adoption.

The constable de Haro, however, a nobleman of great weight from his personal character, and the most extensive landed proprietor in the north, was at length prevailed on to introduce it among his vassals. His example was gradually followed by others of the same rank; and when the city of Seville, and the great lords of Andalusia, had consented to receive it, it speedily became established throughout the kingdom. Thus a standing body of troops, two thousand in number, thoroughly equipped and mounted, was placed at the disposal of the crown, to enforce the law, and suppress domestic insurrection. The supreme junta, which regulated the councils of the *hermandad*, constituted moreover a sort of inferior cortes, relieving the exigencies of government, as we shall see hereafter, on more than one occasion, by important supplies of men and money. By the activity of this new military police, the country was, in the course of a few years, cleared of its swarms of banditti, as

\* *Quaderno de las Leyes Nuevas de la Hermandad*, (Burgos, 1527.) leyes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16, 20, 36, 37.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 2, cap. 51.—L. Mauneo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 160, ed. 1539.—*Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. Ilust. 4.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 76.—Lebrija, *Reium Gestarum Decid.* fol. 36.—By one of the laws, the inhabitants of such seignorial towns as refused to pay the contributions of the *Hermandad* were excluded from its benefits, as well as from traffic with, and even the power of recovering their debts from, other natives of the kingdom.—Ley 33.



well as of the robber chieftains whose strength had enabled them to defy the law. The ministers of justice found a sure protection in the independent discharge of their duties ; and the blessings of personal security and social order, so long estranged from the nation, were again restored to it.

The important\*benefits resulting from the institution of the hermandad, secured its confirmation by successive cortes, for the period of twenty-two years, in spite of the repeated opposition of the aristocracy. At length, in 1498, the objects for which it was established having been completely obtained, it was deemed advisable to relieve the nation from the heavy charges which its maintenance imposed. The great salaried officers were dismissed ; a few subordinate functionaries were retained for the administration of justice, over whom the regular courts of criminal law possessed appellate jurisdiction ; and the magnificent apparatus of the *Santa Hermandad*, stripped of all but the terrors of its name, dwindled into an ordinary police, such as it has existed, with various modifications of form,\*down to the present century.

Isabella was so intent on the prosecution of her schemes of reform, that, even in the minuter details, she frequently superintended the execution of them herself. For this she was admirably fitted by her personal address, and presence of mind in danger ; and by the influence which a conviction of her integrity gave her over the minds of the people.\* A remarkable exemplification of this occurred, the year but one after her coronation, at Segovia. The inhabitants, secretly instigated by the bishop of that place, and some of

\* Recopilacion de las Leyes, (Madrid, 1640,) lib. 3, tit. 13, ley 44.—Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 379.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 2, cap. 51.—Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 6.—Lebrija, *Rerum Gestarum Decad.* fol. 37, 38.—Las Pragmáticas del Reyno, (Sevilla 1520,) fol. 85.—L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 160.

the principal citizens, rose against Cabrera, marquis of Moya, to whom the government of the city had been intrusted, and who had made himself generally unpopular by his strict discipline. They even proceeded so far as to obtain possession of the outworks of the citadel, and to compel the deputy of the *alcayde*, who was himself absent, to take shelter, together with the princess Isabella, then the only daughter of the sovereigns, in the interior defences, where they were rigorously blockaded.

The queen, on receiving tidings of the event at Tordesillas, mounted her horse, and proceeded with all possible despatch towards Segovia, attended by cardinal Mendoza, the count of Benavente, and a few others of her court. At some distance from the city she was met by a deputation of the inhabitants, requesting her to leave behind the count of Benavente and the marchioness of Moya, (the former of whom as the intimate friend, and the latter as the wife of the *alcayde*, were peculiarly obnoxious to the citizens), or they could not answer for the consequences. Isabella haughtily replied, that "she was queen of Castile; that the city was hers, moreover, by right of inheritance; and that she was not used to receive conditions from rebellious subjects." Then pressing forward with her little retinue through one of the gates, which remained in the hands of her friends, she effected her entrance into the citadel.

The populace, in the meanwhile, assembling in greater numbers than before, continued to show the most hostile dispositions, calling out, "Death to the *alcayde*! Attack the castle!" Isabella's attendants, terrified at the tumult, and at the preparations which the people were making to put their menaces into execution, besought their mistress to cause the gates to be secured more strongly, as the only mode of defence against the infuriated mob. But, instead of listening to their counsel, she bade them remain quietly

in the apartment, and descended herself into the court-yard, where she ordered the portals to be thrown open for the admission of the people. She stationed herself at the further extremity of the arca, and, as the populace poured in, calmly demanded the cause of the insurrection. "Tell me," said she, "what are your grievances, and I will do all in my power to redress them; for I am sure that what is for your interest, must be also for mine, and for that of the whole city." The insurgents, abashed by the unexpected presence of their sovereign, as well as by her cool and dignified demeanour, replied, that all they desired was the removal of Cabrera from the government of the city. "He is deposed already," answered the queen, "and you have my authority to turn out such of his officers as are still in the castle, which I shall intrust to one of my own servants, on whom I can rely." The people, pacified by these assurances, shouted "Long live the queen!" and eagerly hastened to obey her mandates.

After thus turning aside the edge of popular fury, Isabella proceeded with her retinue to the royal residence in the city, attended by the fickle multitude, whom she again addressed on arriving there, admonishing them to return to their vocations, as this was no time for calm inquiry; and promising that, if they would send three or four of their number to her on the morrow to report the extent of their grievances, she would examine into the affair, and render justice to all parties. The mob accordingly dispersed; and the queen, after a candid examination, having ascertained the groundlessness or gross exaggeration of the misdemeanors imputed to Cabrera, and traced the source of the conspiracy to the jealousy of the bishop of Segovia and his associates, reinstated the deposed alcaide in the full possession of his dignities, which his enemies, either convinced of the altered dispositions of the people, or believing that the

favourable moment for resistance had escaped, made no further attempts to disturb. Thus, by a happy presence of mind, an affair, which threatened at its outset disastrous consequences, was settled without bloodshed, or compromise of the royal dignity.\*

In the summer of the following year, 1477, Isabella resolved to pay a visit to Estramadura and Andalusia, for the purpose of composing the dissensions, and introducing a more efficient police, in these unhappy provinces; which from their proximity to the stormy frontier of Portugal, as well as from the feuds between the great houses of Guzman and Ponce de Leon, were plunged in the most frightful anarchy. Cardinal Mendoza and her other ministers remonstrated against this imprudent exposure of her person, where it was so little likely to be respected. But she replied, "It was true there were dangers and inconveniences to be encountered; but her fate was in God's hands, and she felt a confidence that he would guide to a prosperous issue such designs as were righteous in themselves and resolutely conducted."

Isabella experienced the most loyal and magnificent reception from the inhabitants of Seville, where she established her head-quarters. The first days of her residence there were consumed in *fêtes*, tourneys, tilts of reeds, and other exercises of the Castilian chivalry. After this she devoted her whole time to the great purpose of her visit, the reformation of abuses. She held her court in the saloon of the

\* Carbajal, Anales, MS. año 76.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 2, cap. 59.—Ferrerías, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 477.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decad. fol. 41, 42.—Gonzalo de Oviedo lavishes many encomiums on Cabrera for "his generous qualities, his singular prudence in government, and his solicitude for his vassals, whom he inspired with the deepest attachment." (Quincunegas, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23.) The best panegyric on his character is the unshaken confidence which his royal mistress reposed in him to the day of her death.

alcazar, or royal castle, where she revived the ancient practice of the Castilian sovereigns, of presiding in person over the administration of justice. Every Friday she took her seat in her chair of state, on an elevated platform covered with cloth of gold, and surrounded by her council, together with the subordinate functionaries, and the insignia of a court of justice. The members of her privy council and of the high court of criminal law sat in their official capacity every day in the week; and the queen herself received such suits as were referred to her adjudication, saving the parties the usual expense and procrastination of justice.

By the extraordinary despatch of the queen and her ministers, during the two months that she resided in the city, a vast number of civil and criminal causes were disposed of, a large amount of plundered property was restored to its lawful owners, and so many offenders were brought to condign punishment, that no less than four thousand suspected persons, it is computed, terrified by the prospect of speedy retribution for their crimes, escaped into the neighbouring kingdoms of Portugal and Granada. The worthy burghers of Seville, alarmed at this rapid depopulation of the city, sent a deputation to the queen, to deprecate her anger, and to represent that faction had been so busy of late years in their unhappy town, that there was scarcely a family to be found in it, some of whose members were not more or less involved in the guilt. Isabella, who was naturally of a benign disposition, considering that enough had probably been done to strike a salutary terror into the remaining delinquents, was willing to temper justice with mercy, and accordingly granted an amnesty for all past offences, save heresy, on the condition, however, of a general restitution of such property as had been unlawfully seized and retained during the period of anarchy.\*

\* Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 381.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 2,

But Isabella became convinced that all arrangements for establishing permanent tranquillity in Seville would be ineffectual, so long as the feud continued between the great families of Guzman and Ponce de Leon. The duke of Medina Sidonia and the marquis of Cadiz, the heads of these houses, had possessed themselves of the royal towns and fortresses, as well as of those which, belonging to the city, were scattered over its circumjacent territory, where, as has been previously stated, they carried on war against each other like independent potentates. The former of these grandees had been the loyal supporter of Isabella in the War of the Succession. The marquis of Cadiz, on the other hand, connected by marriage with the house of Pacheco, had cautiously withheld his allegiance, although he had not testified his hostility by any overt act. While the queen was hesitating as to the course she should pursue in reference to the marquis, who still kept himself aloof in his fortified castle of Xerez, he suddenly presented himself by night at her residence in Seville, accompanied only by two or three attendants. He took this step, doubtless, from the conviction that the Portuguese faction had nothing further to hope in a kingdom where Isabella reigned not only by the fortune of war, but by the affections of the people; and he now eagerly proffered his allegiance to her, excusing his previous conduct as he best could. The queen was too well satisfied with the submission, however tardy, of this formidable vassal, to call him to severe account for past delinquencies. She exacted from him, however, the full restitution of such domains and fortresses as he had filched from the crown and from the city of Seville, on condition of similar concessions by his rival, the duke of Medina

cap. 65, 70, 71.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS, cap. 29.—Carbajal, Anales, MS. año 77.—L. Mauneo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 162; who says, no less than 8,000 guilty fled from Seville and Cordova.

Sidonia. She next attempted to establish a reconciliation between these belligerent grandees; but aware that, however pacific might be their demonstrations for the present, there could be little hope of permanently allaying the inherited feuds of a century, whilst the neighbourhood of the parties to each other must necessarily multiply fresh causes of disgust, she caused them to withdraw from Seville to their estates in the country, and by this expedient succeeded in extinguishing the flame of discord.\*

In the following year, 1478, Isabella accompanied her husband in a tour through Andalusia, for the immediate purpose of reconnoitring the coast. In the course of this progress, they were splendidly entertained by the duke and marquis at their patrimonial estates. They afterwards proceeded to Cordova, where they adopted a similar policy with that pursued at Seville; compelling the count de Cabra, connected with the blood royal, and Alonso de Aguilar, lord of Montilla, whose factions had long desolated this fair city, to withdraw into the country, and restore the immense possessions which they had usurped both from the municipality and the crown.†

One example among others may be mentioned, of the rectitude and severe impartiality with which Isabella administered justice, that occurred in the case of a wealthy Galician knight, named Alvaro Yañez de Lugo. This person, being convicted of a capital offence, attended with the most aggravating circumstances, sought to obtain a commutation of his punishment by the payment of forty

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 29.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv, fol. 283.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 382.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decad. lib. 7.—L. Maríneo, Cosas Memorables, ubi supra.—Garibay, Compendio, lib. 18, cap. 11.

† Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 30.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 2, cap. 78.

thousand *doblas* of gold to the queen, a sum exceeding, at that time, the annual rents of the crown. Some of Isabella's counsellors would have persuaded her to accept the donative, and appropriate it to the pious purposes of the Moorish war. But, far from being blinded by their sophistry, she suffered the law to take its course, and, in order to place her conduct above every suspicion of a mercenary motive, allowed his estates, which might legally have been confiscated to the crown, to descend to his natural heirs. Nothing contributed more to re-establish the supremacy of law in this reign, than the certainty of its execution, without respect to wealth or rank; for the insubordination prevalent throughout Castile was chiefly imputable to persons of this description, who, if they failed to defeat justice by force, were sure of doing so by the corruption of its ministers.\*

Ferdinand and Isabella employed the same vigorous measures in the other parts of their dominions, which had proved so successful in Andalusia, for the extirpation of the hordes of banditti, and of the robber-knights, who differed in no respect from the former but in their superior power. In Galicia alone, fifty fortresses, the strong-holds of tyranny, were razed to the ground; and fifteen hundred malefactors, it was computed, were compelled to fly the kingdom. "The wretched inhabitants of the mountains," says a writer of that age, "who had long since despaired of justice, blessed God for their deliverance, as it were, from a deplorable captivity."†

\* "Ela muy inclinada," says Pulgar, "á facer justicia, tanto que le era imputado seguir mas la via de uigor que de la piedad; y esto facia por remediar á la gran corrupcion de crímenes que falló en el Reyno quando subcedió en él."—*Reyes Católicos*, p. 37.

† Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 2, cap. 97, 98.—L. Marinco, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 162.



While the sovereigns were thus personally occupied with the suppression of domestic discord, and the establishment of an efficient police, they were not inattentive to the higher tribunals, to whose keeping, chiefly, were entrusted the personal rights and property of the subject. They re-organised the royal or privy council, whose powers, although, as has been noticed in the Introduction, principally of an administrative nature, had been gradually encroaching on those of the superior courts of law. During the last century, this body had consisted of prelates, knights, and lawyers, whose numbers and relative proportions had varied in different times. The right of the great ecclesiastics and nobles to a seat in it was, indeed, recognised, but the transaction of business was reserved for the counsellors specially appointed.\* Much the larger proportion of these, by the new arrangement, was made up of jurists, whose professional education and experience eminently qualified them for the station. The specific duties and interior management of the council were prescribed with sufficient accuracy. Its authority, as a court of justice, was carefully limited; but, as it was charged with the principal executive duties of government, it was consulted in all important transactions by the sovereigns, who paid great deference to its opinions, and very frequently assisted at its deliberations.†

\* *Oidenanças Reales de Castilla*, (Burgos, 1523,) lib. 2, tit. 3, ley 31.

This constitutional, though, as it would seem, impotent right of the nobility, is noticed by Sempere. (*Hist. des Cortès*, pp. 123, 129.) It should not have escaped Marina.

† Lib. 2, tit. 3, of the *Oidenanças Reales* is devoted to the royal council. The number of the members was limited to one prelate as president, three knights, and eight or nine jurists. (*Prólogo*.) The sessions were to be held every day in the palace. (*Leyes* 1, 2.) They were instructed to refer to the other tribunals all matters not strictly coming within their own jurisdiction. (*Ley* 4.) Their acts, in all cases except those specially reserved, were to have the force of law without the royal signature. (*Leyes*

No change was made in the high criminal court of *alcaldes de corte*, except in its forms of proceeding. But the royal audience, or chancery, the supreme and final court of appeal in civil causes, was entirely remodelled. The place of its sittings, before indeterminate, and consequently occasioning much trouble and cost to the litigants, was fixed at Valladolid. Laws were passed to protect the tribunal from the interference of the crown, and the queen was careful to fill the bench with magistrates whose wisdom and integrity would afford the best guarantee for a faithful interpretation of the law.\*

In the cortes of Madrigal (1476), and still more in the celebrated one of Toledo (1480), many excellent provisions

23, 24.) See also Los Doctores Asso y Manuel, *Instituciones del Derecho Civil de Castilla*, (Madrid, 1792,) Introd. p. 111; and Santiago Agustin Riol, *Informe*, apud *Semanario Erudito*, (Madrid, 1788,) tom. iii. p. 114, who is mistaken in stating the number of jurists in the council, at this time, at sixteen; a change which did not take place till Philip II.'s reign. (*Recop. de las Leyes*, lib. 2, tit. 4, ley 1.)

Marina denies that the council could constitutionally exercise any judicial authority, at least in suits between private parties; and quotes a passage from Pulgar, showing that its usurpations in this way were restrained by Ferdinand and Isabella. (*Teoría*, part. 2, cap. 29.) Powers of this nature, however, to a considerable extent, appear to have been conceded to it by more than one statute under this reign. See *Recop. de las Leyes* (lib. 2, tit. 4, leyes 20, 22, and tit. 5, ley 12); and the unqualified testimony of Riol, *Informe*, apud *Semanario Erudito*, ubi supra.

\**Ordenanças Reales*, lib. 2, tit. 4.—Marina, *Teoría de las Cortes*, part 2, cap. 25.

By one of the statutes, (ley 4,) the commission of the judges, which before extended to life, or a long period, was abridged to one year. This important innovation was made at the earnest and repeated remonstrance of cortes, who traced the remissness and corruption, too frequent of late in the court, to the circumstance that its decisions were not liable to be reviewed during life. (*Teoría*, ubi supra.) The legislature probably mistook the true cause of the evil. Few will doubt, at any rate, that the remedy proposed must have been fraught with far greater.

were made for the equitable administration of justice, as well as for regulating the tribunals. The judges were to ascertain every week, either by personal inspection or report, the condition of the prisons, the number of the prisoners, and the nature of the offences for which they were confined. They were required to bring them to a speedy trial, and afford every facility for their defence. An attorney was provided at the public expense, under the title of "advocate for the poor," whose duty it was to defend the suits of such as were unable to maintain them at their own cost. Severe penalties were enacted against venality in the judges, a gross evil under the preceding reigns, as well as against such counsel as took exorbitant fees, or even maintained actions that were manifestly unjust. Finally, commissioners were appointed to inspect and make report of the proceedings of municipal and other inferior courts throughout the kingdom.\*

The sovereigns testified their respect for the law by reviving the ancient but obsolete practice of presiding personally in the tribunals, at least once a week. "I well remember," says one of their court, "to have seen the queen, together with the Catholic king, her husband, sitting in judgment in the alcázar of Madrid, every Friday, dispensing justice to all such, great and small, as came to demand it. This was indeed the golden age of justice," continues the enthusiastic writer; "and since our sainted mistress has been taken from us, it has been more difficult, and far more costly, to transact business with a stripling of a secretary, than it was with the queen and all her ministers."†

\* *Ordenanzas Reales*, lib. 2, tit. 1, 3, 4, 15, 16, 17, 19; lib. 3, tit. 2.—*Recop. de las Leyes*, lib. 2, tit. 4, 5, 16.—*Pulgar, Reyes Católicos*, part. 2, cap. 94.

† Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS.—By one of the statutes of the cortes of

By the modifications then introduced, the basis was laid of the judiciary system, such as it has been perpetuated to the present age. The law acquired an authority which, in the language of a Spanish writer, "caused a decree, signed by two or three judges, to be more respected since that time, than an army before."<sup>\*</sup> But perhaps the results of this improved administration cannot be better conveyed than in the words of an eyewitness. "Whereas," says Pulgar, "the kingdom was previously filled with banditti and malefactors of every description, who committed the most diabolical excesses, in open contempt of law, there was now such terror impressed on the hearts of all, that no one dared to lift his arm against another, or even to assail him with contumelious or discourteous language. The knight and the squire, who had before oppressed the labourer, were intimidated by the fear of that justice which was sure to be executed on them; the roads were swept of the banditti; the fortresses, the strong-holds of violence, were thrown open; and the whole nation, restored to tranquillity and order, sought no other redress than that afforded by the operation of the law."<sup>†</sup>

II. Codification of the laws.—Whatever reforms might have been introduced into the Castilian judicatures, they would have been of little avail without a corresponding improvement in the system of jurisprudence by which their decisions were to be regulated. This was made up of the

Toledo, in 1480, the king was required to take his seat in the council every Friday. (*Ordenanças Reales*, lib. 2, tit. 3, ley 32.) It was not so new for the Castilians to have good laws, as for their monarchs to observe them.

<sup>\*</sup> Sempere, *Hist. des Cortès*, p. 263.

<sup>†</sup> Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 167.—See the strong language, also, of Peter Martyr, another contemporary witness of the beneficial changes in the government. *Opus Epistolarum*, (Amstelodami, 1670,) ep. 31.

Visigothic code, as the basis; the *fueros* of the Castilian princes, as far back as the eleventh century; and the "Siete Partidas," the famous compilation of Alfonso the Tenth, digested chiefly from maxims of the civil law. The deficiencies of these ancient codes had been gradually supplied by such an accumulation of statutes and ordinances, as rendered the legislation of Castile in the highest degree complex, and often contradictory. The embarrassment resulting from this occasioned, as may be imagined, much tardiness, as well as uncertainty, in the decisions of the courts, who, despairing of reconciling the discrepancies in their own law, governed themselves almost exclusively by the Roman, so much less accommodated, as it was, than their own, to the genius of the national institutions, as well as to the principles of freedom.†

" Prieto y Sotelo, Historia del Derecho Real de España, (Madrid, 1738,) lib. 3, cap. 16-21. — Marina has made an elaborate commentary on Alfonso's celebrated code, in his *Ensayo Histórico-Crítico sobre la Antigua Legislacion de Castilla*, (Madrid, 1808,) pp. 269 et seq. The English reader will find a more succinct analysis in Dr. Dunham's *History of Spain and Portugal*, (London, 1832,) in Lardner's *Cyclopædia*, vol. iv. pp. 121-150. The latter has given a more exact, and, at the same time, extended view of the early Castilian legislation, probably than is to be found, in the same compass, in any of the Peninsular writers.

† Marina (in his *Ensayo Histórico-Crítico*, p. 383,) quotes a popular satire of the fifteenth century, directed with considerable humour against these abuses, which lead the writer in the last stanza to envy even the summary style of Mahometan justice.

" En tierra de Moros un solo alcalde  
Libra lo civil e lo criminal,  
E todo el día se esta de valde  
Por la justicia andar muy igual:  
Allí non es Azo, nin es Decretal,  
Nin es Roberto, nin la Clementina,  
Salvo discrecion e buena doctrina,  
La qual muestra a todos verir communal."—P. 389.

The nation had long felt the pressure of these evils, and made attempts to redress them in repeated cortes. But every effort proved unavailing during the stormy or imbecile reigns of the princes of Trastamara. At length, the subject having been resumed in the cortes of Toledo, in 1480, Dr. Alfonso Diaz de Montalvo, whose professional science had been matured under the reigns of three successive sovereigns, was charged with the commission of revising the laws of Castile, and of compiling a code which should be of general application throughout the kingdom.

This laborious undertaking was accomplished in little more than four years; and his work, which subsequently bore the title of *Ordenanças Reales*, was published, or, as the privilege expresses it, “written with types,” *excrito de letra de molde*, at Huete, in the beginning of 1485. It was one of the first works, therefore, which received the honours of the press in Spain; and surely none could have been found, at that period, more deserving of them. It went through repeated editions in the course of that, and the commencement of the following century.\* It was admitted as paramount authority throughout Castile; and although the many innovations, which were introduced in that age of reform, required the addition of two subsidiary codes in the latter years of Isabella, the “*Ordenanças*” of Montalvo continued to be the guide of the tribunals down to the time of Philip the Second; and may be said to have suggested the idea, as indeed it was the basis, of the comprehensive compilation, “*Nueva Recopilacion*,” which has since formed the law of the Spanish monarchy.†

\* Mendez enumerates no less than five editions of this code, by 1500; a sufficient evidence of its authority, and general reception, throughout Castile.—*Typographia Española*, pp. 203, 261, 270.

† *Ordenanças Reales*, Prólogo.—*Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. *Illust.* 9.—*Marina, Ensayo Histórico-Crítico*, pp. 390 et seq.—Mendez,

III. Depression of the nobles.—In the course of the preceding chapters, we have seen the extent of the privileges constitutionally enjoyed by the aristocracy, as well as the enormous height to which they had swollen under the profuse reigns of John the Second and Henry the Fourth. This was such, at the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, as to disturb the balance of the constitution, and to give serious cause of apprehension both to the monarch and the people. They had introduced themselves into every great post of profit or authority. They had ravished from the crown the estates on which it depended for its maintenance as well as dignity. They coined money in their own mints, like sovereign princes; and they covered the country with their fortified castles, whence they defied the law, and desolated the unhappy land with interminable feuds. It was obviously necessary for the new sovereigns to proceed with the greatest caution against this powerful and jealous body, and, above all, to attempt no measure of importance, in which they would not be supported by the hearty co-operation of the nation.

The first measure, which may be said to have clearly developed their policy, was the organisation of the hermandad, which, although ostensibly directed against offenders of a more humble description, was made to bear indirectly upon the nobility, whom it kept in awe by the number and

Typographia Española, p. 261.—The authors of the three last-mentioned works abundantly disprove Asso y Manuel's insinuation, that Montalvo's code was the fruit of his private study, without any commission for it, and that it gradually usurped an authority which it had not in its origin. (*Discurso Preliminar al Ord. de Alcalá.*) The injustice of the last remark, indeed, is apparent from the positive declaration of Bernaldez. "*Los Reyes mandaron tener en todas las ciudades, villas é lugares el libro de Montalvo, é por él determinar todas las cosas de justicia para cortar los pleitos, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 42.*"

discipline of its forces, and the promptness with which it could assemble them on the most remote points of the kingdom; while its rights of jurisdiction tended materially to abridge those of the seignorial tribunals. It was accordingly resisted with the greatest pertinacity by the aristocracy; although, as we have seen, the resolution of the queen, supported by the constancy of the commons, enabled her to triumph over all opposition, until the great objects of the institution were accomplished.

Another measure, which insensibly operated to the depression of the nobility, was making official preferment depend less exclusively on rank, and much more on personal merit than before. "Since the hope of guerdon," says one of the statutes enacted at Toledo, "is the spur to just and honourable actions, when men perceive that offices of trust are not to descend by inheritance, but to be conferred on merit, they will strive to excel in virtue, that they may attain its reward."\* The sovereigns, instead of confining themselves to the *grandees*, frequently advanced persons of humble origin, and especially those learned in the law, to the most responsible stations; consulting them, and paying great deference to their opinions, on all matters of importance. The nobles, finding that rank was no longer the sole, or indeed the necessary avenue to promotion, sought to secure it by attention to more liberal studies, in which they were greatly encouraged by Isabella, who admitted their children into her palace, where they were reared under her own eye.†

But the boldest assaults on the power of the aristocracy were made in the famous cortes of Toledo, in 1480, which Carbajal enthusiastically styles "*cosa divina para reforma-*

\* *Ordenanças Reales*, lib. 7, tit. 2, ley 13.

† Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 44. — Sempere notices this feature of the royal policy. *Hist. des Cortès*, chap. 24.



cion y remedio de las desórdenes pasadas.”<sup>i</sup> The first object of its attention was the condition of the exchequer, which Henry the Fourth had so exhausted by his reckless prodigality, that the clear annual revenue amounted to no more than thirty thousand ducats, a sum much inferior to that enjoyed by many private individuals : so that, stripped of his patrimony, it at last came to be said, he was “king only of the highways.” Such had been the royal necessities, that blank certificates of annuities assigned on the public rents were hawked about the market, and sold at such a depreciated rate, that the price of an annuity did not exceed the amount of one year’s income. The commons saw with alarm the weight of the burdens which must devolve on them for the maintenance of the crown thus impoverished in its resources ; and they resolved to meet the difficulty by advising at once a resumption of the grants unconstitutionally made during the latter half of Henry the Fourth’s reign, and the commencement of the present.<sup>†</sup> This measure, however violent and repugnant to good faith it may appear at the present time, seems then to have admitted of justification as far as the nation was concerned ; since such alienation of the public revenue was in itself illegal, and contrary to the coronation oath of the sovereign ; and those who accepted his obligations, held them subject to the liability of their revocation which had frequently occurred under the preceding reigns. •

As the intended measure involved the interests of most of

\* Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 80.

† See the emphatic language, on this and other grievances, of the Castilian commons in their memorial to the sovereigns, *Apendice*, No. 10, of Clemencin’s valuable compilation. The commons had pressed the measure, as one of the last necessity to the crown, as early as the cortes of Madrigal, in 1476. The reader will find the whole petition extracted by Marina *Teoría*, tom. ii. cap. 5.

the considerable proprietors in the kingdom, who had thriven on the necessities of the crown, it was deemed proper to require the attendance of the nobility and great ecclesiastics in cortes by a special summons, which it seems had been previously omitted. Thus convened, the legislature appears, with great unanimity, and much to the credit of those most deeply affected by it, to have acquiesced in the proposed resumption of the grants, as a measure of absolute necessity. The only difficulty was to settle the principles on which the retrenchment might be most equitably made with reference to creditors, whose claims rested on a great variety of grounds. The plan suggested by cardinal Mendoza seems to have been partially adopted. It was decided that all, whose pensions had been conferred without any corresponding services on their part, should forfeit them entirely; that those who had purchased annuities should return their certificates on a reimbursement of the price paid for them; and that the remaining creditors, who composed the largest class, should retain such a proportion only of their pensions, as might be judged commensurate with their services to the state.\*

By this important reduction, the final adjustment and execution of which were intrusted to Fernando de Talavera, the queen's confessor, a man of austere probity, the gross amount of thirty millions of maravedis, a sum equal to three-fourths of the whole revenue on Isabella's accession, was annually saved to the crown. The retrenchment was conducted with such strict impartiality, that the most confidential servants of the queen, and the relatives of her hus-

\* Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, cap. 51.—Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Hist. v.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 2, cap. 95.—Ordenanças Reales, lib. 6, tit. 4, ley 26;—incorporated also into the Recopilacion of Philip II. lib. 5, tit. 10, cap. 17. See also leyes 3 and 15.

band, were among those who suffered the most severely.\* It is worthy of remark that no diminution whatever was made of the stipends settled on literary and charitable establishments. It may be also added, that Isabella appropriated the first fruits of this measure, by distributing the sum of twenty millions of maravedis among the widows and orphans of those loyalists who had fallen in the War of the Succession.† This resumption of the grants may be considered as the basis of those economical reforms which, without oppression to the subject, augmented the public revenue more than twelvefold during this auspicious reign.‡

Several other acts were passed by the same cortes, which had a more exclusive bearing on the nobility. They were prohibited from quartering the royal arms on their escutcheons, from being attended by a mace-bearer and a body guard, from imitating the regal style of address in their written correspondence, and other insignia of royalty which they had arrogantly assumed. They were forbidden to erect new fortresses, and we have already seen the activity of the queen in procuring the demolition or restitution of the old. They were expressly restrained from duels, an inveterate

\* Admiral Enriquez, for instance, resigned 240,000 maravedis of his annual income;—the duke of Alva, 575,000;—the duke of Medina Sidonia, 180,000.—The loyal family of the Mendozas were also great losers; but none forfeited so much as the overgrown favourite of Henry IV., Beltran de la Cueva, duke of Albuquerque, who had uniformly supported the royal cause, and whose retrenchment amounted to 1,400,000 maravedis of yearly rent. See the scale of reduction given at length by Señor Clemencin, in *Mem. de la Acad.*, tom. vi. loc. cit.

† “No monarch,” said the high-minded queen, “should consent to alienate his demesnes; since the loss of revenue necessarily deprives him of the best means of rewarding the attachment of his friends, and of making himself feared by his enemies.”—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 1, cap. 4.

‡ Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, ubi supra.—*Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. loc. cit.

source of mischief ; for engaging in which, the parties, both principals and seconds, were subjected to the penalties of treason. Isabella evinced her determination of enforcing this law on the highest offenders, by imprisoning, soon after its enactment, the counts of Luna and Valencia for exchanging a cartel of defiance, until the point at issue should be settled by the regular course of justice.\*

It is true the haughty nobility of Castile winced more than once at finding themselves so tightly curbed by their new masters. On one occasion a number of the principal grandees, with the duke of Infantado at their head, addressed a letter of remonstrance to the king and queen, requiring them to abolish the hermandad, as an institution burdensome on the nation, deprecating the slight degree of confidence which their highnesses reposed in their order, and requesting that four of their number might be selected to form a council for the general direction of affairs of state, by whose advice the king and queen should be governed in all matters of importance, as in the time of Henry the Fourth.

Ferdinand and Isabella received this unseasonable remonstrance with great indignation, and returned an answer couched in the haughtiest terms. "The hermandad," they said, "is an institution most salutary to the nation, and is approved by it as such. It is our province to determine who are best entitled to preferment, and to make merit the standard of it. You may follow the court, or retire to

\* Ordenanças Reales, lib. 2, tit. 1, ley 2 ; lib. 4, tit. 9, ley 11.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 2, cap. 96, 101.—Recop. de las Leyes, lib. 3, tit. 8, ley 10 et al.—These affairs were conducted in the true spirit of knight errantry. Oviedo mentions one, in which two young men of the noble houses of Velasco and Ponce de Leon agreed to fight on horseback, with sharp spears (*puntas de diamantes*), in doublet and hose, without defensive armour of any kind. The place appointed for the combat was a narrow bridge across the Xarama, three leagues from Madrid.—Quincuegenas, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23.

your estates, as you think best ; but, so long as Heaven permits us to retain the rank with which we have been intrusted, we shall take care not to imitate the example of Henry the Fourth, in becoming a tool in the hands of our nobility." The discontented lords, who had carried so high a hand under the preceding imbecile reign, feeling the weight of an authority which rested on the affections of the people, were so disconcerted by the rebuke, that they made no attempt to rally, but condescended to make their peace separately as they could, by the most ample acknowledgments.\*

An example of the impartiality as well as spirit with which Isabella asserted the dignity of the crown is worth recording. During her husband's absence in Aragon, in the spring of 1481, a quarrel occurred in the ante-chamber of the palace at Valladolid, between two young noblemen, Ramiro Nuñez de Guzman, lord of Toral, and Frederic Henríquez, son of the admiral of Castile, king Ferdinand's uncle. The queen, on receiving intelligence of it, granted a safe-conduct to the lord of Toral, as the weaker party, until the affair should be adjusted between them. Don Frederic, however, disregarding this protection, caused his enemy to be waylaid by three of his followers, armed with bludgeons, and sorely beaten one evening in the streets of Valladolid.

Isabella was no sooner informed of this outrage on one whom she had taken under the royal protection, than burning with indignation, she immediately mounted her horse, though in the midst of a heavy storm of rain, and proceeded alone towards the castle of Simancas, then in the possession of the admiral, the father of the offender, where she supposed him to have taken refuge, travelling all

\* Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. vii. pp. 487, 488.

such rapidity, that she was not overtaken by her guard until she had gained the fortress. summoned the admiral to deliver up his son on his replying that "Don Frederic was not at he was ignorant where he was," she commanded him to surrender the keys of the castle, and, after he had again returned to Valladolid. The next day she was confined to her bed by an illness occasioned by the excessive fatigue which she had undergone. "My body is lame," said she, "with the wound given by Don Frederic in contempt of my

advice, perceiving how deeply he and his family were displeased with the queen, took counsel with her. He and his family were led by their knowledge of Isabella's weakness to believe that he would have more to hope from the king than from further attempts at concealment. The young man was accordingly conducted to the king's uncle, the constable de Haro, who deprecated his resentment by representing the age of his nephew as scarcely amounting to twenty years. Isabella, though desirous to punish the youthful delinquent, thought it more proper to have him publicly conducted as a prisoner, by the alcaides of her court, through the great hall of Valladolid to the fortress of Arevalo, where he was to be in strict confinement, all privilege of access to him; and when at length, moved by the consideration of his consanguinity with the king, she consented to his release, she banished him to Sicily, until he should receive the royal permission to return to his own

possessions, maintaining the strict impartiality as well as vigour

manuscript, MS. año 80.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 2,

of the administration, it could never have maintained itself by its own resources alone, in its offensive operations against the high-spirited aristocracy of Castile. Its most direct approaches, however, were made, as we have seen, under cover of the cortes. The sovereigns showed great deference, especially in this early period of their reign, to the popular branch of this body ; and, so far from pursuing the odious policy of preceding princes in diminishing the amount of represented cities, they never failed to direct their writs to all those which, at their accession, retained the right of representation, and subsequently enlarged the number by the conquest of Granada ; while they exercised the anomalous privilege, noticed in the Introduction to this history, of omitting altogether, or issuing only a partial summons to, the nobility.\* By making merit the standard of preferment, they opened the path of honour to every class of the community. They uniformly manifested the greatest tenderness for the rights of the commons in reference to taxation ; and, as their patriotic policy was obviously directed to secure the personal rights and general prosperity of the people, it insured the co-operation of an ally, whose weight, combined with that of the crown, enabled them eventually to restore the equilibrium which had been disturbed by the undue preponderance of the aristocracy.

It may be well to state here the policy pursued by Ferdinand and Isabella in reference to the Military Orders of Castile, since, although not fully developed until a much later period, it was first conceived, and indeed partly executed, in that now under discussion.

\* For example, at the great cortes of Toledo, in 1480, it does not appear that any of the nobility were summoned, except those in immediate attendance on the court, until the measure for the resumption of the grants, which so nearly affected that body, was brought before the legislature.

The uninterrupted warfare which the Spaniards were compelled to maintain for the recovery of their native land from the infidel, nourished in their bosoms a flame of enthusiasm similar to that kindled by the crusades for the recovery of Palestine, partaking in an almost equal degree of a religious and a military character. \*This similarity of sentiment gave birth also to similar institutions of chivalry. Whether the military orders of Castile were suggested by those of Palestine, or whether they go back to a remoter period, as is contended by their chroniclers, or whether, in fine, as Conde intimates, they were imitated from corresponding associations known to have existed among the Spanish Arabs,† there can be no doubt that the forms under which they were permanently organised were derived, in the latter part of the twelfth century, from the monastic orders established for the protection of the Holy Land. The Hospitallers, and especially the Templars, obtained more extensive acquisitions in Spain than in any, perhaps every, other country in Christendom; and it was partly from the ruins of their empire that were constructed the magnificent fortunes of the Spanish orders.†

\* Conde gives the following account of these chivalric associations among the Spanish Arabs, which, as far as I know, has hitherto escaped the notice of European historians. "The Moslem *fronteros* professed great austerity in their lives, which they consecrated to perpetual war, and bound themselves by a solemn vow to defend the frontier against the incursions of the Christians. They were choice cavaliers, possessed of consummate patience, and enduring fatigue, and always prepared to die rather than desert their posts. It appears highly probable that the Moorish fraternities suggested the idea of those military orders so renowned for their valour in Spain and in Palestine, which rendered such essential services to Christendom; for both the institutions were established on similar principles."—Conde, *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, (Madrid, 1820,) tom. i. p. 619, not.

† See the details, given by Mariana, of the overgrown possessions of the



The most eminent of these was the order of St. Jago, or St. James, of Compostella. The miraculous revelation of the body of the Apostle, after the lapse of eight centuries from the date of his interment, and his frequent apparition in the ranks of the Christian armies in their desperate struggles with the infidel, had given so wide a celebrity to the obscure town of Compostella in Galicia, which contained the sainted relics, that it became the resort of pilgrims from every part of Christendom during the middle ages; and the escalop-shell, the device of St. James, was adopted as the universal badge of the palmer. Inus for the refresh-

Templars in Castile at the period of their extinction, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. (*Hist. de España*, lib. 15, cap. 10.) The knights of the Temple and the Hospitallers seem to have acquired still greater power in Aragon, where one of the monarchs was so infatuated as to bequeath them his whole dominions,—a bequest, which it may well be believed was set aside by his high-spirited subjects.—Zurita, *Anales*, lib. i. cap. 52.

\* The apparition of certain preternatural lights in a forest, discovered to a Galician peasant, in the beginning of the ninth century, the spot in which was deposited a marble sepulchre containing the ashes of St. James. The miracle is reported with sufficient circumstantiality by Florez, (*Historia Compostellana*, lib. 1, cap. 2, apud *España Sagrada*, tom. xx.) and Ambrosio de Morales, (*Crónica General de España*; Obras, Madrid, 1791-3; lib. 9, cap. 7;) who establishes, to his own satisfaction, the advent of St. James into Spain. Mariana, with more scepticism than his brethren, doubts the genuineness of the body, as well as the visit of the Apostle, but like a good Jesuit concludes, "It is not expedient to disturb with such disputes the devotion of the people, so firmly settled as it is." (Lib. 7, cap. 10.) The tutelar saint of Spain continued to support his people by taking part with them in battle against the infidel down to a very late period. Caro de Torres mentions two engagements in which he cheered on the squadrons of Cortes and Pizarro, "with his sword flashing lightning in the eyes of the Indians."—*Ordenes Militares*, fol. 5. Also Acosta, a better authority, from having resided in Mexico many years himself.—*Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, (Sevilla, 1590,) lib. 7, cap. 27.

ment and security of the pious itinerants were scattered along the whole line of the route from France; but, as they were exposed to perpetual annoyance from the predatory incursions of the Arabs, a number of knights and gentlemen associated themselves, for their protection, with the monks of St. Lojo, or Eloy, adopting the rule of St. Augustine, and thus laid the foundation of the chivalric order of St. James, about the middle of the twelfth century. The cavaliers of the fraternity, which received its papal bull of approbation five years later, in 1175, were distinguished by a white mantle embroidered with a red cross, in fashion of a sword, with the escalop-shell below the guard, in imitation of the device which glittered on the banner of their tutelar saint when he condescended to take part in their engagements with the Moors. The red colour denoted, according to an ancient commentator, "that it was stained with the blood of the infidel." The rules of the new order imposed on its members the usual obligations of obedience, community of property, and of conjugal chastity, instead of celibacy. They were, moreover, required to relieve the poor, defend the traveller, and maintain perpetual war upon the Mussulman.\*

The institution of the Knights of Calatrava was somewhat more romantic in its origin. That town, from its situation on the frontiers of the Moorish territory of Andalusia, where it commanded the passes into Castile, became of vital importance to the latter kingdom. Its defence had accordingly been intrusted to the valiant order of the Templars, who, unable to keep their ground against the pertinacious assaults of the Moslems, abandoned it, at the expiration of eight years, as untenable. This occurred about the middle

\* Rades y Andrada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, fol. 2-15.—Caro de Torres, *Ordenes Militares*, fol. 2-8.—Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. pp. 116-118.

of the twelfth century ; and the Castilian monarch, Sancho the Beloved, as the last resort, offered it to whatever good knights would undertake its defence.

The empire was eagerly sought by a monk of a distant convent in Navarre, who had once been a soldier, and whose military ardour seems to have been exalted, instead of being extinguished, in the solitude of the cloister. The monk, supported by his conventual brethren, and a throng of cavaliers and more humble followers, who sought redemption under the banner of the church, was enabled to make good his word. From the confederation of these knights and ecclesiastics, sprung the military fraternity of Calatrava, which received the confirmation of the pontiff, Alexander the Third, in 1164. The rules which it adopted were those of St. Benedict, and its discipline was in the highest degree austere.

The cavaliers were sworn to perpetual celibacy, from which they were not released till so late as the sixteenth century. Their diet was of the plainest kind. They were allowed meat only thrice a week, and then only one dish. They were to maintain unbroken silence at the table, in the chapel, and the dormitory ; and they were enjoined both to sleep and to worship with the sword girt on their side, in token of readiness for action. In the earliest days of the institution, the spiritual as well as the military brethren were allowed to make part of the martial array against the infidel, until this was prohibited as indecorous by the Holy See. From this order branched off that of Montesa in Valencia, which was instituted at the commencement of the fourteenth century, and continued dependent on the parent stock.\*

\* Rades y Audrada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, part. 2, fol. 3-9, 49. Caro de Torres, *Ordenes Militares*, fol. 49, 50.—Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. pp. 100-104.

The third great order of religious chivalry in Castile was that of Alcantara, which also received its confirmation from Pope Alexander the Third, in 1177. It was long held in nominal subordination to the knights of Calatrava, from which it was relieved by Julius the Second, and eventually rose to an importance little inferior to that of its rival.

The internal economy of these three fraternities was regulated by the same general principles. The direction of affairs was intrusted to a council, consisting of the grand master and a number of the commanders (*comendadores*), among whom the extensive territories of the order were distributed. This council, conjointly with the grand master, or the latter exclusively, as in the fraternity of Calatrava, supplied the vacancies. The master himself was elected by a general chapter of these military functionaries alone, or combined with the conventional clergy, as in the order of Calatrava, which seems to have recognised the supremacy of the military over the spiritual division of the community more unreservedly than that of St. James.

These institutions appear to have completely answered the objects of their creation. In the early history of the Peninsula, we find the Christian chivalry always ready to bear the brunt of battle against the Moors. Set apart for this peculiar duty, their services in the sanctuary only tended to prepare them for their sterner duties in the field of battle, where the zeal of the Christian soldier may be supposed to have been somewhat sharpened by the prospect of the rich temporal acquisitions which the success of his arms was sure to secure to his fraternity; for the superstitious princes of those times, in addition to the wealth lavished so liberally on all monastic institutions, granted the military

\* Rades y Andriada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, part 3, fol. 1-6.—The knights of Alcantara wore a white mantle, embroidered with a green cross.

orders almost unlimited rights over the conquests achieved by their own valour. In the sixteenth century, we find the order of St. James, which had shot up to a pre-eminence above the rest, possessed of eighty-four commanderies, and two hundred inferior benefices. The same order could bring into the field, according to Garibay, four hundred belted knights, and one thousand lances, which, with the usual complement of a lance in that day, formed a very considerable force. The rents of the mastership of St. James amounted, in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, to sixty thousand ducats, those of Alcantara to forty-five thousand, and those of Calatrava to forty thousand. There was scarcely a district of the Peninsula which was not covered with their castles, towns, and convents. Their rich commanderies gradually became objects of cupidity to men of the highest rank, and more especially the grand-masterships, which, from their extensive patronage, and the authority they conferred over an organised militia pledged to implicit obedience, and knit together by the strong tie of common interest, raised their possessors almost to the level of royalty itself. Hence the elections to these important dignities came to be a fruitful source of intrigue, and frequently of violent collision. The monarchs, who had anciently reserved the right of testifying their approbation of an election, by presenting the standard of the order to the new dignitary, began personally to interfere in the deliberations of the chapter. While the pope, to whom a contested point was not unfrequently referred, assumed at length the prerogative of granting the masterships in administration on a vacancy, and even that of nomination itself, which, if disputed, he enforced by his spiritual thunders.\*

\* Rades y Andrada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, part. 1, fol. 12-15, 43, 54, 61, 64, 66, 67; part. 2, fol. 11, 51; part. 3, fol. 42, 49, 50.—Caro de Torres, *Ordenes Militares*, passim.—L. Marneio, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 33.—

Owing to these circumstances, there was probably no one cause, among the many which occurred in Castile during the fifteenth century, more prolific of intestine discord, than the election to these posts, far too important to be intrusted to any subject, and the succession to which was sure to be contested by a host of competitors. Isabella seems to have settled in her mind the course of policy to be adopted in this matter, at a very early period of her reign. On occasion of a vacancy in the grand-mastership of St. James, by the death of the incumbent, in 1476, she made a rapid journey on horseback, her usual mode of travelling from Valladolid to the town of Ucles, where a chapter of the order was deliberating on the election of a new principal. The queen, presenting herself before this body, represented with so much energy the inconvenience of devolving powers of such magnitude on any private individual, and its utter incompatibility with public order, that she prevailed on them, smarting, as they were, under the evils of a disputed succession, to solicit the administration for the king, her husband. That monarch, indeed, consented to waive this privilege in favour of Alonso de Cardenas, one of the competitors for the office, and a loyal servant of the crown; but, at his decease in 1499, the sovereigns retained the possession of the vacant mastership, conformably to a papal decree, which granted them its administration for life, in the same manner as had been done with that of Calatrava in 1487, and of Alcantara in 1494.\*

Garibay, Compendio, lib. 11, cap. 13.—Zurita, Anales, tom. v. lib. 1, cap. 19.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 1.

\* Caro de Torres, Ordenes Militares, fol. 46, 74, 83.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 2, cap. 64.—Rades y Andrada, Las Tres Ordenes, part. 1, fol. 69, 70; part. 2, fol. 82, 83; part. 3, fol. 54.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 1.—The sovereigns gave great offence to the jealous grandees who were competitors for the mastership of St. James, by

The sovereigns were no sooner vested with the control of the military orders, than they began with their characteristic promptness to reform the various corruptions which had impaired their ancient discipline. They erected a council for the general superintendence of affairs relating to the orders, and invested it with extensive powers both of civil and criminal jurisdiction. They supplied the vacant benefices with persons of acknowledged worth, exercising an impartiality which could never be maintained by any private individual, necessarily exposed to the influence of personal interests and affections. By this harmonious distribution, the honours, which had before been held up to the highest bidder, or made the subject of a furious canvas, became the incentive and sure recompense of desert.\*

In the following reign, the grand-masterships of these fraternities were annexed in perpetuity to the crown of Castile by a bull of Pope Adrian the Sixth; while their subordinate dignities, having survived the object of their original creation, the subjugation of the Moors, degenerated into the empty decorations, the stars and garters, of an order of nobility.†

IV. Vindication of ecclesiastical rights belonging to the crown from papal usurpation.—In the earlier stages of the Castilian monarchy the sovereigns appear to have held a supremacy in spiritual, very similar to that exercised by

conferring that dignity on Alonso de Cardenas, with their usual policy of making merit rather than birth the standard of preferment.

\* Caro de Torres, *Ordenes Militares*, fol. 84.—Riol has given a full account of the constitution of this council.—Informe, apud *Semanario Erudito*, tom. iii. pp. 164 et seq.

† The reader will find a view of the condition and general resources of the military orders as existing in the present century in Spain, in Laborde, *Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne*, (2d edition, Paris, 1827-30,) tom. v. pp. 102-117.

them in temporal matters. It was comparatively late that the nation submitted its neck to the papal yoke, so closely riveted at a subsequent period; and even the Romish ritual was not admitted into its churches till long after it had been adopted in the rest of Europe.\* But, when the code of the Partidas was promulgated in the thirteenth century, the maxims of the canon law came to be permanently established. The ecclesiastical encroached on the lay tribunals. Appeals were perpetually carried up to the Roman court; and the popes, pretending to regulate the minutest details of church economy, not only disposed of inferior benefices, but gradually converted the right of confirming elections to the episcopal and higher ecclesiastical dignities, into that of appointment.†

These usurpations of the church had been repeatedly the subject of grave remonstrance in cortes. Several remedial enactments had passed that body during the present reign, especially in relation to the papal provision of foreigners to benefices; an evil of much greater magnitude in Spain than in other countries of Europe, since the episcopal demesnes, frequently covering the Moorish frontier, became an important line of national defence, obviously improper to be intrusted to the keeping of foreigners and absentees. Not-

\* Most readers are acquainted with the curious story, related by Robertson, of the ordeal to which the Romish and Muzarabic rituals were subjected in the reign of Alfonso VI., and the ascendancy which the combination of kingcraft and priestcraft succeeded in securing to the former in opposition to the will of the nation. Cardinal Ximenes afterwards established a magnificent chapel in the cathedral church of Toledo for the performance of the Muzarabic services, which have continued to be retained there to the present time.—Fléchier, *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, (Paris, 1693,) p. 142. — Bourgoanne, *Travels in Spain*, Eng. Trans. vol. iii., chap. 1.

† Marina, *Ensayo Histórico-Crítico*, Nos. 322, 334, 341.—Riol, *Informe apud Semanario Erudito*, pp. 92 et seq.



withstanding the efforts of cortes, no effectual remedy was devised for this latter grievance, until it became the subject of actual collision between the crown and the pontiff, in reference to the see of Tarazona, and afterwards of Cuenca.\*

Sixtus the Fourth had conferred the latter benefice, on its becoming vacant in 1482, on his nephew, cardinal San Giorgio, a Genoese, in direct opposition to the wishes of the queen, who would have bestowed it on her chaplain, Alfonso de Burgos, in exchange for the bishopric of Cordova. An ambassador was accordingly despatched by the Castilian sovereigns to Rome, to remonstrate on the papal appointment; but without effect, as Sixtus replied, with a degree of presumption which might better have become his predecessors of the twelfth century, that "he was head of the church, and, as such, possessed of unlimited power in the distribution of benefices, and that he was not bound to consult the inclination of any potentate on earth, any farther than might subserve the interests of religion."

The sovereigns, highly dissatisfied with this response, ordered their subjects, ecclesiastical as well as lay, to quit the papal dominions; an injunction which the former, fearful of the sequestration of their temporalities in Castile, obeyed with as much promptness as the latter. At the same time, Ferdinand and Isabella proclaimed their intention of inviting the princes of Christendom to unite with them in convoking a general council for the reformation of the manifold abuses which dishonoured the church. No sound could have grated more unpleasantly on the pontifical ear than the menace of

\* Marina, *Ensayo Histórico-Crítico*, Nos. 335-337. — *Ordenanzas Reales*, lib. 1, tit. 3, leyes 19, 20; lib. 2, tit. 7, ley 2; lib. 3, tit. 1, ley 6.—Riol, *Informe*, apud *Semanario Erudito*, loc. cit.—In the latter part of Henry IV.'s reign, a papal bull had been granted against the provision of foreigners to benefices.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. vii. p. 196, ed. Valencia.

a general council, particularly at this period, when ecclesiastical corruptions had reached a height which could but ill endure its scrutiny. The pope became convinced that he had ventured too far, and that Henry the Fourth was no longer monarch of Castile. He accordingly despatched a legate to Spain, fully empowered to arrange the matter on an amicable basis.

The legate, who was a layman, by name Domingo Centurion, no sooner arrived in Castile, than he caused the sovereigns to be informed of his presence there, and the purpose of his mission ; but he received orders instantly to quit the kingdom, without attempting so much as to disclose the nature of his instructions, since they could not but be derogatory to the dignity of the crown. A safe-conduct was granted for himself and his suite ; but, at the same time, great surprise was expressed that any one should venture to appear, as envoy from his Holiness, at the court of Castile, after it had been treated by him with such unmerited indignity.

Far from resenting this ungracious reception, the legate affected the deepest humility ; professing himself willing to waive whatever immunities he might claim as papal ambassador, and to submit to the jurisdiction of the sovereigns as one of their own subjects, so that he might obtain an audience. Cardinal Mendoza, whose influence in the cabinet had gained him the title of “third king of Spain,” apprehensive of the consequences of a protracted rupture with the church, interposed in behalf of the envoy, whose conciliatory deportment at length so far mitigated the resentment of the sovereigns, that they consented to open negotiations with the court of Rome. The result was the publication of a bull by Sixtus the Fourth,\* in which his

\* Riöl, in his account of this celebrated concordat, refers to the original instrument as existing in his time in the archives of Simancas.—*Semanario Erudito*, tom. iii. p. 95.

Holiness engaged to provide such natives to the higher dignities of the church in Castile as should be nominated by the monarchs of that kingdom ; and Alfonso de Burgos was accordingly translated to the see of Cuença. Isabella, on whom the duties of ecclesiastical preferment devolved by the act of settlement, availed herself of the rights, thus wrested from the grasp of Rome, to exalt to the vacant sees persons of exemplary piety and learning : holding light, in comparison with the faithful discharge of this duty, every minor consideration of interest, and even the solicitations of her husband, as we shall see hereafter.\* And the chronicler of her reign dwells with complacency on those good old times, when churchmen were to be found of such singular modesty as to require to be urged to accept the dignities to which their merits entitled them.†

V. The regulation of trade.—It will be readily conceived that trade, agriculture, and every branch of industry must have languished under the misrule of preceding reigns. For what purpose, indeed, strive to accumulate wealth, when it would only serve to sharpen the appetite of the spoiler ? For what purpose cultivate the earth, when the fruits were sure to be swept away, even before the harvest

\* “Lo que es público hoy en España é notorio,” says Gonzalo de Oviedo, “nunca los Reyes Cathólicos desearon ni procuraron sino que proveer é presentar para las dignidades de la Iglesia hombres capaces é idoneos para la buena administracion del servicio del culto divino, C á la buena ensenanza é utilidad de los Christianos sus vasallos ; y entre todos los varones de sus Reynos así por largo conocimiento como per larga é secreta informacion acordaron encojer é elegir,” &c.—Quincuagenas, MS. dial. de Talavera.

† Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, lib. i. cap. 52.—Idem, Dignidades de Castilla, p. 374.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part 2, cap. 104. See also the similar independent conduct pursued by Ferdinand, three years previous, with reference to the see of Taragona, related by Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 304.

time, in some ruthless foray? The frequent famines and pestilences which occurred in the latter part of Henry's reign and the commencement of his successor's, show too plainly the squalid condition of the people, and their utter destitution of all useful arts. We are assured by the curate of Los Palacios, that the plague broke out in the southern districts of the kingdom, carrying off eight, or nine, or even fifteen thousand inhabitants from the various cities; while the prices of the ordinary aliments of life rose to a height which put them above the reach of the poorer classes of the community. In addition to these physical evils a fatal shock was given to commercial credit by the adulteration of the coin. Under Henry the Fourth, it is computed that there were no less than one hundred and fifty mints openly licensed by the crown, in addition to many others erected by individuals without any legal authority. The abuse came to such a height, that people at length refused to receive in payment of their debts the debased coin, whose value depreciated more and more every day; and the little trade which remained in Castile was carried on by barter, as in the primitive stages of society.\*

The magnitude of the evil was such as to claim the earliest attention of the cortes under the new monarchs. Acts were passed fixing the standard and legal value of the different denominations of coin. A new coinage was subsequently made. Five royal mints were alone authorised, afterwards augmented to seven, and severe penalties denounced against the fabrication of money elsewhere. The reform of the currency gradually infused

\* Bernaldes, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 44.—See a letter from one of Henry's subjects, cited by Saez, Monedas de Enrique IV., p. 3.—Also the coarse satire (composed in Henry's reign) of "Mingo Revulgo," especially coplas 24-27.

new life into commerce, as the return of the circulations, which have been interrupted for a while, quickens the animal body. This was furthered by salutary laws for the encouragement of domestic industry. Internal communication was facilitated by the construction of roads and bridges. Absurd restrictions on change of residence, as well as the onerous duties which had been imposed on commercial intercourse between Castile and Aragon, were repealed. Several judicious laws were enacted for the protection of foreign trade; and the flourishing condition of the mercantile marine may be inferred from that of the military, which enabled the sovereigns to fit out an armament of seventy sail in 1482, from the ports of Biscay and Andalusia, for the defence of Naples against the Turks. Some of their regulations, indeed, as those prohibiting the exportations of the precious metals, savour too strongly of the ignorance of the true principles of commercial legislation, which has distinguished the Spaniards to the present day. But others, again, as that for relieving the importation of foreign books from all duties, "because," says the statute, "they bring both honour and profit to the kingdom, by the facilities which they afford for making men learned," are not only in advance of that age, but may sustain an advantageous comparison with provisions on corresponding subjects in Spain at the present time. Public credit was re-established by the punctuality with which the government redeemed the debt contracted during the Portuguese war; and, notwithstanding the repeal of various arbitrary imposts, which enriched the exchequer under Henry the Fourth, such was the advance of the country under the wise economy of the present reign, that the revenue was augmented nearly six fold between the years 1477 and 1482.\*

\* *Pragmáticas del Reyno*, fol. 64.—*Ordenanças Reales*, lib. 4, tit. 4,

Thus released from the heavy burdens imposed on it, the spring of enterprise recovered its former elasticity. The productive capital of the country was made to flow through the various channels of domestic industry. The hills and the valleys again rejoiced in the labour of the husbandman; and the cities were embellished with stately edifices, both public and private, which attracted the gaze and commendation of foreigners.\* The writers of that day are unbounded in their plaudits of Isabella, to whom they principally ascribe this auspicious revolution in the condition of the country and its inhabitants,† which seems almost as

ley 22; lib. 5, tit. 8, ley 2; lib. 6, tit. 9, ley 49; lib. 6, tit. 10, ley 13. Col. de Cédulas, tom. v. No. 182.—See also other wholesome laws for the encouragement of commerce and general security of property, as that respecting contracts, (lib. 5, tit. 8, ley 5,)—fraudulent tradesmen, (lib. 5, tit. 8, ley 5,)—purveyance, (lib. 6, tit. 11, ley 2 et al.)—Recopilacion de las Leyes, lib. 5, tit. 20, 21, 22; lib. 6, tit. 18, ley 1.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 2, cap. 99.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 312.—Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 11.—The revenue it appears, in 1477, amounted to 27,415,228 maravedis; and in the year 1482, we find it increased to 150,695,238 maravedis. (Ibid. Ilust. 5.)—A survey of the kingdom was made between the years 1477 and 1479, for the purpose of ascertaining the value of the royal rents, which formed the basis of the economical regulations adopted by the cortes of Toledo. Although this survey was conducted on no uniform plan, yet, according to Señor Clemencin, it exhibits such a variety of important details respecting the resources and population of the country, that it must materially contribute towards an exact history of this period. The compilation, which consists of twelve folio volumes in manuscript, is deposited in the archives of Simancas.

\* One of the statutes passed at Toledo expressly provides for the erection of spacious and handsome edifices (*casas grandes y bien fechas*) for the transaction of municipal affairs in all the principal towns and cities in the kingdom.—Ordenanças Reales, lib. 7, tit. 1, ley 1.—See also L. Marinco, Cosas Memorables, passim, et al. auct.

† “Cosa fue por cierto maravillosa,” exclaims Pulgar, in his Glosa on the Mingo Revulgo, “que lo que muchos hombres, y grandes señores no se

gradually achieved without fraud or violence, by a course of measures equally laudable ; and the various orders of the monarchy, brought into harmonious action with each other, were enabled to turn the forces, which had before been wasted in civil conflict, to the glorious career of discovery and conquest which it was destined to run during the remainder of the century.

---

The sixth volume of the *Memoirs of the Royal Spanish Academy of History*, published in 1821, is devoted altogether to the reign of Isabella. It is distributed into Illustrations, as they are termed, of the various branches of the administrative policy of the queen, of her personal character, and of the condition of science under her government. These essays exhibit much curious research, being derived from unquestionable contemporary documents, printed and manuscript, and from the public archives. They are compiled with much discernment ; and as they throw light on some of the most recondite transactions of this reign, are of inestimable service to the historian. The author of the volume is the late lamented secretary of the Academy, Don Diego Clemencin ; one of the few who survived the wreck of scholarship in Spain, and who, with the erudition which has frequently distinguished his countrymen, combined the liberal and enlarged opinions which would do honour to any country.

## CHAPTER VII.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MODERN INQUISITION.

Origin of the ancient Inquisition.—Retrospective view of the Jews in Spain.—Their wealth and civilisation.—Bigotry of the age.—Its influence on Isabella.—Her confessor, Torquemada.—Bull authorising the Inquisition.—Tribunal at Seville.—Forms of trial.—Torture.—Autos da Fe.—Number of Convictions.—Perfidious policy of Rome.

It is painful, after having dwelt so long on the important benefits resulting to Castile from the comprehensive policy of Isabella, to be compelled to turn to the darker side of the picture, and to exhibit her as accommodating herself to the illiberal spirit of the age in which she lived, so far as to sanction one of the grossest abuses that ever disgraced humanity. The present chapter will be devoted to the establishment and early progress of the Modern Inquisition; an institution which has probably contributed more than any other cause to depress the lofty character of the ancient Spaniard, and which has thrown the gloom of fanaticism over those lovely regions, which seem to be the natural abode of festivity and pleasure.

In the present liberal state of knowledge, we look with disgust at the pretensions of any human being, however exalted, to invade the sacred rights of conscience, inalienably possessed by every man. We feel that the spiritual concerns of an individual may be safely left to himself, as most interested in them, except so far as they can be affected by argument or friendly monition; that the idea of



compelling belief in particular doctrines is a solecism, as absurd as wicked : and, so far from condemning to the stake, or the gibbet, men who pertinaciously adhere to their conscientious opinions in contempt of personal interests and in the face of danger, we should rather feel disposed to imitate the spirit of antiquity in raising altars and statues to their memory, as having displayed the highest efforts of human virtue. But, although these truths are now so obvious as rather to deserve the name of truisms, the world has been slow, very slow, in arriving at them, after many centuries of unspeakable oppression and misery.

Acts of intolerance are to be discerned from the earliest period in which Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire. But they do not seem to have flowed from any systematised plan of persecution, until the papal authority had swollen to a considerable height. The popes, who claimed the spiritual allegiance of all Christendom, regarded heresy as treason against themselves, and, as such, deserving all the penalties which sovereigns have uniformly visited on this, in their eyes, unpardonable offence. The crusades, which, in the early part of the thirteenth century, swept so fiercely over the southern provinces of France, exterminating their inhabitants, and blasting the fair buds of civilisation which had put forth after the long feudal winter, opened the way to the Inquisition ; and it was on the ruins of this once happy land that were first erected the bloody altars of that tribunal.\*

\* Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Maclaine, (Charlestown, 1810,) cent. 13, p. 2, chap. 5.—Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, (Paris, 1821,) tom. vi. chap. 24-28 ; tom. vii. chap. 2, 3.—Idem, *De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe*, (Paris, 1813,) tom. i. chap. 6.—In the former of these works M. Sismondi has described the physical ravages of the crusades in southern France, with the same spirit and eloquence with which he has exhibited their desolating moral influence in the latter.

Some Catholic writers would fain excuse St. Dominic from the imputa-

After various modifications, the province of detecting and punishing heresy was exclusively committed to the hands of the Dominican friars; and in 1233, in the reign of St. Louis, and under the pontificate of Gregory the Ninth, a code for the regulation of their proceedings was finally digested. The tribunal, after having been successively adopted in Italy and Germany, was introduced into Aragon, where, in 1242, additional provisions were framed by the council of Tarragona, on the basis of those of 1233, which may properly be considered as the primitive instructions of the Holy Office in Spain.\*

This Ancient Inquisition, as it is termed, bore the same odious peculiarities in its leading features as the Modern;

tion of having founded the Inquisition. It is true he died some years before the perfect organisation of that tribunal; but, as he established the principles on which, and the monkish militia by whom, it was administered, it is doing him no injustice to regard him as its real author.—The Sicilian Paramo, indeed, in his heavy quarto, (*De Origine et Progressu Officii Sancte Inquisitionis*, Matriti, 1598,) traces it up to a much more remote antiquity, which, to a Protestant ear, at least, savours not a little of blasphemy. According to him, God was the first inquisitor, and his condemnation of Adam and Eve furnished the model of the judicial forms observed in the trials of the Holy Office. The sentence of Adam was the type of the inquisitorial *reconciliation*; his subsequent raiment of the skins of animals was the model of the *san-denito*; and his expulsion from Paradise the precedent for the confiscation of the goods of heretics. This learned personage deduces a succession of inquisitors through the patriarchs, Moses, Nebuchadnezzar, and king David, down to John the Baptist, and even our Saviour, in whose precepts and conduct he finds abundant authority for the tribunal!—Paramo, *De Origine Inquisitionis*, lib. 1, tit. 1, 2, 3.

\* Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. vii. chap. 3.—Limborch, *History of the Inquisition*, translated by Chandler, (Lond. 1731,) book 1, chap. 24.—Llorente, *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, (Paris, 1818,) tom. i. p. 110.—Before this time we find a constitution of Peter I., of Aragon against heretics, prescribing in certain cases the burning of heretics and the confiscation of their estates, in 1197.—*Marca Hispanica, sive Limes Hispanicus*, (Parsis, 1688,) p. 1384.

the same impenetrable secrecy in its proceedings, the same insidious modes of accusation, a similar use of torture, and similar penalties for the offender. A sort of manual, drawn up by Eymerich, an Aragonese inquisitor of the fourteenth century, for the instruction of the judges of the Holy Office, proscribes all those ambiguous forms of interrogation, by which the unwary and perhaps innocent victim might be circumvented.\* The principles on which the ancient Inquisition was established are no less repugnant to justice than those which regulated the modern; although the former, it is true, was much less extensive in its operation. The arm of persecution, however, fell with sufficient heaviness, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on the unfortunate Albigenses, who from the proximity and political relations of Aragon and Provence, had become numerous in the former kingdom. The persecution appears, however, to have been chiefly confined to this unfortunate sect, and there is no evidence that the Holy Office, notwithstanding papal briefs to that effect, was

\* Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Vetus*, tom. ii. p. 186.—Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. pp. 110-124. Puigblanch cites some of the instructions from Eymerich's work, whose authority in the courts of the Inquisition he compares to that of Gratian's *Decretals* in other ecclesiastical judicatures. One of these may suffice to show the spirit of the whole, "When the inquisitor has an opportunity, he shall manage so as to introduce to the conversation of the prisoner some one of his accomplices, or any other converted heretic, who shall feign that he still persists in his heresy, telling him that he had abjured for the sole purpose of escaping punishment, by deceiving the inquisitors. Having thus gained his confidence, he shall go into his cell some day after dinner, and keeping up the conversation till night, shall remain with him under pretext of its being too late for him to return home. He shall then urge the prisoner to tell him all the particulars of his past life, having first told him the whole of his own; and in the mean time spies shall be kept in hearing at the door, as well as a notary, in order to certify what may be said within."—Puigblanch, *Inquisition Unmasked*, translated by Walton, (London, 1816,) vol. i. pp. 238, 239.

fully organised in Castile before the reign of Isabella. This is perhaps imputable to the paucity of heretics in that kingdom. It cannot, at any rate, be charged to any lukewarmness in its sovereigns; since they, from the time of St. Ferdinand, who heaped the faggots on the blazing pile with his own hands, down to that of John the Second, Isabella's father, who hunted the unhappy heretics of Biscay like so many wild beasts among the mountains, had ever evinced a lively zeal for the orthodox faith.\*

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Albigensian heresy had become nearly extirpated by the Inquisition of Aragon; so that this infernal engine might have been suffered to sleep undisturbed from want of sufficient fuel to keep it in motion, when new and ample materials were discovered in the unfortunate race of Israel, on whom the sins of their fathers have been so unsparingly visited by every nation in Christendom among whom they have sojourned almost to the present century. As this remarkable people,

\* Mariana, Hist. de España, lib. 12, cap. 11; lib. 21, cap. 17.—Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 3. The nature of the penance imposed on reconciled heretics by the ancient Inquisition was much more severe than that of later times. Llorente cites an act of St. Dominic respecting a person of this description, named Ponce Roger. The penitent was commanded to be "*stripped of his clothes and beaten with rods by a priest, three Sundays in succession, from the gate of the city to the door of the church*"; not to eat any kind of animal food during his whole life; to keep three Lents a year, without even eating fish; to abstain from fish, oil, and wine three days in the week, during life, except in case of sickness or excessive labour; to wear a religious dress with a small cross embroidered on each side of the breast; to attend mass every day if he had the means of doing so, and vespers on Sundays and festivals; to recite the service for the day and the night, and to repeat the *pater noster* seven times in the day, ten times in the evening, and *twenty times at midnight!*" (Ibid. chap. 4.) If the said Roger failed in any of the above requisitions, he was to be burnt as a relapsed heretic! This was the encouragement held out by St. Dominic to penitence.

who seem to have preserved their unity of character unbroken amid the thousand fragments into which they have been scattered, attained perhaps to greater consideration in Spain than in any other part of Europe, and as the efforts of the Inquisition were directed principally against them during the present reign, it may be well to take a brief review of their preceding history in the Peninsula.

Under the Visigothic empire the Jews multiplied exceedingly in the country, and were permitted to acquire considerable power and wealth. But no sooner had their Arian masters embraced the orthodox faith, than they began to testify their zeal by pouring on the Jews the most pitiless storm of persecution. One of their laws alone condemned the whole race to slavery; and Montesquieu remarks, without much exaggeration, that to the Gothic code may be traced all the maxims of the modern Inquisition, the monks of the fifteenth century only copying, in reference to the Israelites, the bishops of the seventh.\*

After the Saracenic invasion, which the Jews, perhaps with reason, are accused of having facilitated, they resided in the conquered cities, and were permitted to mingle with the Arabs on nearly equal terms. Their common Oriental origin produced a similarity of tastes, to a certain extent, not unfavourable to such a coalition. At any rate, the early Spanish Arabs were characterised by a spirit of toleration towards both Jews and Christians, "the people of the book," as they were called, which has scarcely been found among later Moslems.† The Jews, accordingly,

\* Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, liv. 28, chap. 1.—See the canon of the 17th council of Toledo, condemning the Israelitish race to bondage, in Florez, *España Sagrada*, (Madrid, 1745-47,) tom. vi. p. 229.—*Fuero Juzgo* (ed. de la Acad.; Madrid, 1815; lib. 12, tit. 2, and 3,) is composed of the most inhuman ordinances against this unfortunate people.

† The Koran grants protection to the Jews on payment of tribute. See

under these favourable auspices, not only accumulated wealth with their usual diligence, but gradually rose to the highest civil dignities, and made great advances in various departments of letters. The schools of Cordova, Toledo, Barcelona, and Granada, were crowded with numerous disciples, who emulated the Arabians in keeping alive the flame of learning during the deep darkness of the middle ages.\* Whatever may be thought of their success in speculative philosophy,† they cannot reasonably be denied to have contributed largely to practical and experimental

the Koran, translated by Sale, (London, 1825,) chap. 9. Still there is ground enough (though less among the Spanish Arabs than the other Moslems) for the following caustic remark of the author above quoted. "La religion Juive est un vieux tronc qui a produit deux branches qui ont convert toute la terre ; je veux dire, le Mahometisme et le Christianisme : ou plutôt c'est une mère qui a engendré deux filles qui l'ont accablée de mille plaies ; car, en fait de religion, les plus proches sont les plus grandes ennemies."—Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes*, let. 60.

\* The first academy founded by the learned Jews in Spain was that of Cordova, A. D. 948. Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, tom. i. p. 2.—Basnag, *History of the Jews*, translated by Taylor, (London, 1708,) book 7, chap. 5.

† In addition to their Talmudic lore and Cabalistic mysteries, the Spanish Jews were well read in the philosophy of Aristotle. They pretended that the Stagirite was a convert to Judaism, and had borrowed his science from the writings of Solomon. (Brucker, *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*; Lipsæ, 1766; tom. ii. p. 853.) M. Degeando, adopting similar conclusions with Brucker, in regard to the value of the philosophical speculations of the Jews, passes the following severe sentence upon the intellectual, and indeed moral character of the nation. "Ce peuple, par son caractère, ses mœurs, ses institutions, semblaît être destiné à rester stationnaire. Un attachement excessif à leurs propres traditions dominait chez les Juifs tous les penchans de l'esprit : ils restaient presque étrangers aux progrès de la civilisation, au mouvement général de la société ; ils étaient en quelque sorte moralement isolés, alors même qu'ils communiquaient avec tous les peuples, et parcouraient toutes les contrées. Aussi nous cherchons en vain, dans ceux de leurs écrits qui nous sont connus, non seulement de vraies

science. They were diligent travellers in all parts of the known world, compiling itineraries which have proved of extensive use in later times, and bringing home hordes of foreign specimens and Oriental drugs, that furnished important contributions to the domestic pharmacopœias.\* In the practice of medicine, indeed, they became so expert, as in a manner to monopolise that profession. They made great proficiency in mathematics, and particularly in astronomy; while, in the cultivation of elegant letters, they revived the ancient glories of the Hebrew muse.† This was indeed the golden age of modern Jewish literature, which, under the Spanish caliphs, experienced a protection so benign, although occasionally chequered by the caprices of despotism, that it was enabled to attain higher beauty and a more perfect development in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, than it has reached in any other part of Christendom.‡

découvertes, mais même des idées réellement originales.”—*Histoire Comparée des Systèmes de Philosophie*, (Paris, 1822,) tom. iv. p. 299.

\* Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, tom. i. pp. 21, 33, et alibi.—Benjamin of Tudela’s celebrated Itinerary, having been translated into the various languages of Europe, passed into sixteen editions before the middle of the last century.—*Ibid.* tom. i. pp. 79, 80.

† The beautiful lament which the royal psalmist has put into the mouths of his countrymen when commanded to sing the songs of Sion in a strange land, cannot be applied to the Spanish Jews, who, far from hanging their harps upon the willows, poured forth their lays with a freedom and vivacity which may be thought to savour more of the modern troubadour than of the ancient Hebrew minstrel. Castro has collected, under Siglo XV. a few gleanings of such as, by their incorporation into a Christian Cancionero, escaped the fury of the Inquisition.—*Biblioteca Española*, tom. i. pp. 265-364.

‡ Castro has done for the Hebrew what Casiri a few years before did for the Arabic literature of Spain, by giving notices of such works as have survived the ravages of time and superstition. The first volume of his *Biblioteca Española* contains an analysis accompanied with extracts from

The ancient Castilians of the same period, very different from their Gothic ancestors, seem to have conceded to the Israelites somewhat of the feelings of respect which were extorted from them by the superior civilisation of the Spanish Arabs. We find eminent Jews residing in the courts of the Christian princes, directing their studies, attending them as physicians, or more frequently administering their finances. For this last vocation they seem to have had a natural aptitude; and, indeed, the correspondence which they maintained with the different countries of Europe by means of their own countrymen, who acted as the brokers of almost every people among whom they were scattered during the middle ages, afforded them peculiar facilities both in politics and commerce. We meet with Jewish scholars and statesmen attached to the courts of Alfonso the Tenth, Alfonso the Eleventh, Peter the Cruel, Henry the Second, and other princes. Their astronomical science recommended them in a special manner to Alfonso the Wise, who employed them in the construction of his celebrated Tables. James the First of Aragon condescended to receive instruction from them in ethics; and, in the fifteenth century, we notice John the Second, of Castile, employing a Jewish secretary in the compilation of a national Cancionero.\*

But all this royal patronage proved incompetent to protect the Jews when their flourishing fortunes had risen to a sufficient height to excite popular envy, augmented, as it was, by that profuse ostentation of equipage and apparel for which this singular people, notwithstanding their avarice,

more than seven hundred different works, with biographical sketches of their authors; the whole bearing most honourable testimony to the talent and various erudition of the Spanish Jews.

\* Basnage, *History of the Jews*, book 7, chap. 5, 15, 16.—Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, tom. i. pp. 116, 265, 267.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. i. p. 906; tom. ii. pp. 62, 147, 459.—Samuel Levi, treasure



have usually shown a predilection “ Stories were circulated of their contempt for the Catholic worship, their desecration of its most holy symbols, and of their crucifixion, or other sacrifice, of Christian children at the celebration of their own passover.† With these foolish calumnies, the more probable charge of usury and extortion was industriously preferred against them; till at length, towards the close of the fourteenth century, the fanatical populace, stimulated in many instances by the no less fanatical clergy, and perhaps encouraged by the numerous class of debtors to the Jews, who found this a convenient mode of settling their accounts, made a fierce assault on this unfortunate people in Castile and Aragon, breaking into their houses, violating their most private sanctuaries, scattering their costly collections and furniture, and consigning the wretched proprietors to indiscriminate massacre, without regard to sex or age.‡

of Peter the Cruel, who was sacrificed to the cupidity of his master, is reported by Mariana to have left behind him the incredible sum of 400,000 ducats to swell the royal coffers.—See tom. ii. p. 82.

\* Sir Walter Scott, with his usual discernment, has availed himself of those opposite traits in his portraits of Rebecca and Isaac in *Ivanhoe*, in which he seems to have contrasted the lights and shadows of the Jewish character. The humiliating state of the Jews, however, exhibited in this romance, affords no analogy to their social condition in Spain; as is evinced not merely by their wealth, which was also conspicuous in the English Jews, but by the high degree of civilisation, and even political consequence, which, notwithstanding the occasional ebullitions of popular prejudice, they were permitted to reach there.

† Calumnies of this kind were current all over Europe. The English reader will call to mind the monkish fiction of the little Christian,

“ Slain with cursed Jewes, as it is notable,”

singing most devoutly after his throat was cut from ear to ear, in Chaucer’s *Prioress’s Tale*. See another instance in the old Scottish ballad of the “ Jew’s Daughter,” in Percy’s “ *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.”

‡ Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 43.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. pp. 186, 187.—In 1391, 5,000 Jews were sacrificed to the popular

In this crisis, the only remedy left to the Jews was a real or feigned conversion to Christianity. St. Vincent Ferrier, a Dominican of Valencia, performed such a quantity of miracles, in furtherance of this purpose, as might have excited the envy of any saint in the Calendar; and these, aided by his eloquence, are said to have changed the hearts of no less than thirty-five thousand of the race of Israel, which doubtless must be reckoned the greatest miracle of all.\*

The legislative enactments of this period, and still more under John the Second, during the first half of the fifteenth century, were uncommonly severe upon the Jews. While they were prohibited from mingling freely with the Christians, and from exercising the professions for which they were best qualified,† their residence was restricted within certain prescribed limits of the cities which they inhabited; and they were not only debarred from their usual luxury of ornament in dress, but were held up to public scorn, as it

fury, and, according to Mariana, no less than 10,000 perished from the same cause in Navarre about sixty years before.—See tom. i. p. 912.

\* According to Mariana, the restoration of sight to the blind, feet to the lame, even life to the dead, were miracles of ordinary occurrence with St. Vincent. (*Hist. de España*, tom. ii. pp. 229, 230.) The age of miracles had probably ceased by Isabella's time, or the Inquisition might have been spared. Nic. Antonio in his notice of the life and labours of this Dominican, (*Bibliotheca Vetus*, tom. ii. pp. 205, 207,) states that he preached his inspired sermons in his vernacular Valencian dialect to audiences of French, English, and Italians indiscriminately, who all understood him perfectly well; "a circumstance," says Dr. McCrie, in his valuable "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain," (Edinburgh, 1829,) "which if it prove anything, proves that the hearers of St. Vincent possessed more miraculous powers than himself, and that they should have been canonised, rather than the preacher."—P. 87, note.

† They were interdicted from the callings of vintners, grocers, taverners, especially of apothecaries, and of physicians and nurses.—*Ordenanças Reales*, lib. 8, tit. 3, leyes 11, 15, 18.

were, by some peculiar badge or emblem embroidered on their garments.'

Such was the condition of the Spanish Jews at the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella. The *new Christians*, or *converts*, as those who had renounced the faith of their fathers were denominated, were occasionally preferred to high ecclesiastical dignities, which they illustrated by their integrity and learning. They were intrusted with municipal offices in the various cities of Castile; and, as their wealth furnished an obvious resource for repaying, by way of marriage, the decayed fortunes of the nobility, there was scarcely a family of rank in the land whose blood had not been contaminated at some period or other by mixture with the *mala sangre*, as it came afterwards to be termed, of the house of Judah; an ignominious stain, which no time has been deemed sufficient wholly to purge away.†

\* No law was more frequently reiterated than that prohibiting the Jews from acting as stewards of the nobility, or farmers and collectors of the public rents. The repetition of this law shows to what extent that people had engrossed what little was known of financial science in that day. For the multiplied enactments in Castile against them, see *Ordenanças Reales* (lib. 8, tit. 3). For the regulations respecting the Jews in Aragon, many of them oppressive, particularly at the commencement of the fifteenth century, see *Fueros y Observancias del Reyno de Aragon*, (Zaragoza, 1667,) tom. i, fol. 6.—*Musca Hispanica*, pp. 1416, 1433.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iii. lib. 12, cap. 45.

† Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 43.—Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, préf. p. 26.—A manuscript, entitled *Tizon de España*, (Brand of Spain,) tracing up many a noble pedigree to a Jewish or Mahometan root, obtained a circulation to the great scandal of the country, which the efforts of the government, combined with those of the Inquisition, have not been wholly able to suppress. Copies of it, however, are now rarely to be met with. (Doblado, *Letters from Spain*; London, 1822; let. 2.) Clementín notices two works with this title, one as ancient as Ferdinand and Isabella's time, and both written by bishops.—*Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. p. 125.

Notwithstanding the show of prosperity enjoyed by the converted Jews, their situation was far from secure. Their proselytism had been too sudden to be generally sincere; and, as the task of dissimulation was too irksome to be permanently endured, they gradually became less circumspect, and exhibited the scandalous spectacle of apostates returning to wallow in the ancient mire of Judaism. The clergy, especially the Dominicans, who seem to have inherited the quick scent for heresy which distinguished their frantic founder, were not slow in sounding the alarm; and the superstitious populace, easily roused to acts of violence in the name of religion, began to exhibit the most tumultuous movements, and actually massacred the constable of Castile in an attempt to suppress them at Jaen, the year preceding the accession of Isabella. After this period, the complaints against the Jewish heresy became still more clamorous, and the throne was repeatedly beset with petitions to devise some effectual means for its extirpation. (1478).

A chapter of the Chronicle of the curate of Los Palacios, who lived at this time in Andalusia, where the Jews seem to have most abounded, throws considerable light on the real as well as pretended motives of the subsequent persecution. "This accursed race," he says, speaking of the Israelites, "were either unwilling to bring their children to be baptised, or, if they did, they washed away the stain on returning home. They dressed their stews and other dishes with oil instead of lard; abstained from pork; kept the passover; eat meat in Lent; and sent oil to replenish the lamps of their synagogues; with many other abominable ceremonies of their religion. They entertained no respect

\* Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 479.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 2, cap. 77.

for monastic life, and frequently profaned the sanctity of religious houses by the violation or seduction of their inmates. They were an exceedingly politic and ambitious people, engrossing the most lucrative municipal offices ; and preferred to gain their livelihood by traffic, in which they made exorbitant gains, rather than by manual labour or mechanical arts. They considered themselves in the hands of the Egyptians, whom it was a merit to deceive and pilfer. By their wicked contrivances they amassed great wealth, and thus were often able to ally themselves by marriage with noble Christian families.”\*

It is easy to discern, in this medley of credulity and superstition, the secret envy entertained by the Castilians of the superior skill and industry of their Hebrew brethren, and of the superior riches which these qualities secured to them ; and it is impossible not to suspect that the zeal of the most orthodox was considerably sharpened by worldly motives.

Be that as it may, the cry against the Jewish abominations now became general. Among those most active in raising it were Alfonso de Ojeda, a Dominican, prior of the monastery of St. Paul in Seville, and Diego de Merlo, assistant of that city, who should not be defrauded of the meed of glory to which they are justly entitled by their exertions for the establishment of the modern Inquisition. These persons, after urging on the sovereigns the alarming extent to which the Jewish leprosy prevailed in Andalusia, loudly called for the introduction of the Holy Office, as the only effectual means of healing it. In this they were vigorously supported by Niccoló Franco, the papal nuncio then residing at the court of Castile. Ferdinand listened with complacency to a scheme which promised an ample source

\* Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 43.

of revenue in the confiscations it involved. But it was not so easy to vanquish Isabella's aversion to measures so repugnant to the natural benevolence and magnanimity of her character. Her scruples, indeed, were rather founded on sentiment than reason, the exercise of which was little countenanced in matters of faith in that day, when the dangerous maxim, that the end justifies the means, was universally received, and learned theologians seriously disputed whether it were permitted to make peace with the infidel, and even whether promises made to them were obligatory on Christians.\*

The policy of the Roman church, at that time, was not only shown in its perversion of some of the most obvious principles of morality, but in the discouragement of all free inquiry in its disciples, whom it instructed to rely implicitly in matters of conscience on their spiritual advisers. The artful institution of the tribunal of confession, established with this view, brought, as it were, the whole Christian world at the feet of the clergy, who, far from being always animated by the meek spirit of the Gospel, almost justified the reproach of Voltaire, that confessors have been the

\* Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, ubi supra.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 2, cap. 77.—Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 386.—*Mém. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. p. 44.—Llorente, tom. i. pp. 143, 145.

Some writers are inclined to view the Spanish Inquisition, in its origin, as little else than a political engine. Guizot remarks of the tribunal, in one of his lectures, "Elle contenait en germe ce qu'elle est devenue; mais elle ne l'était pas en commençant: elle fut d'abord plus politique que religieuse, et destinée à maintenir l'ordre plutôt qu'à défendre la foi." (*Cours d'Histoire Moderne*; Paris, 1828-30; tom. v. lec. 11.) This statement is inaccurate in reference to Castile, where the facts do not warrant us in imputing any other motive for its adoption than religious zeal. The general character of Ferdinand, as well as the circumstances under which it was introduced into Aragon, may justify the inference of a more worldly policy in its establishment there.

source of most of the violent measures pursued by princes of the Catholic faith.<sup>1</sup>

Isabella's serious temper, as well as early education, naturally disposed her to religious influences. Notwithstanding the independence exhibited by her in all secular affairs, in her own spiritual concerns she uniformly testified the deepest humility, and deferred too implicitly to what she deemed the superior sagacity, or sanctity, of her ghostly counsellors. An instance of this humility may be worth recording. When Fray Fernando de Talavera, afterwards archbishop of Granada, who had been appointed confessor to the queen, attended her for the first time in that capacity, he continued seated after she had knelt down to make her confession, which drew from her the remark, "that it was usual for both parties to kneel." "No," replied the priest, "this is God's tribunal; I act here as his minister, and it is fitting that I should keep my seat, while your Highness kneels before me." Isabella, far from taking umbrage at the ecclesiastic's arrogant demeanour, complied with all humility, and was afterwards heard to say, "This is the confessor that I wanted."<sup>†</sup>

Well had it been for the land, if the queen's conscience had always been entrusted to the keeping of persons of such exemplary piety as Talavera. Unfortunately, in her early days, during the life-time of her brother Henry, that charge was committed to a Dominican monk, Thomas de Torque-

\* *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations*, chap. 176.

† Sigüenza *Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo*, apud *Mém. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. *Ilust.* 13.—This anecdote is more characteristic of the order than the individual. Oviedo has given a brief notice of this prelate, whose virtues raised him from the humblest condition to the highest post in the church, and gained him, to quote that writer's words, the appellation of "El sancto, ó el buen arzobispo en toda España." —*Quincuagenas MS. dial. de Talavera.*

made, a native of old Castile, subsequently raised to the rank of prior of Santa Cruz in Segovia, and condemned to infamous immortality by the signal part which he performed in the tragedy of the Inquisition. This man, who concealed more pride under his monastic weeds than might have furnished forth a convent of his order, was one of that class with whom zeal passes for religion, and who testify their zeal by a fiery persecution of those whose creed differs from their own; who compensate for their abstinence from sensual indulgence, by giving scope to those deadlier vices of the heart, pride, bigotry, and intolerance, which are no less opposed to virtue, and are far more extensively mischievous to society. This personage had earnestly laboured to infuse into Isabella's young mind, to which his situation as her confessor gave him such ready access, the same spirit of fanaticism that glowed in his own. Fortunately this was greatly counteracted by her sound understanding and natural kindness of heart. Torquemada urged her, or indeed, as is stated by some, extorted a promise, that, "should she ever come to the throne, she would devote herself to the extirpation of heresy, for the glory of God, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith."\* The time was now arrived when this fatal promise was to be discharged.

It is due to Isabella's fame to state thus much in palliation of the unfortunate error into which she was led by her misguided zeal; an error so grave, that, like a vein in some noble piece of statuary, it gives a sinister expression to her otherwise unblemished character.† It was not until

\* Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol 323.

† The uniform tenderness with which the most liberal Spanish writers of the present comparatively enlightened age, as Maura, Llorente, Clemençon, &c, regard the memory of Isabella, affords an honourable testimony to the unsuspected integrity of her motives. Even in relation to the Inquisition, her countrymen would seem willing to draw a veil over her errors, or to excuse her by charging them on the age in which she lived.



the queen had endured the repeated importunities of the clergy, particularly of those reverend persons in whom she most confided, seconded by the arguments of Ferdinand, that she consented to solicit from the pope a bull for the introduction of the Holy Office into Castile. Sixtus the Fourth, who at that time filled the pontifical chair, easily discerning the sources of wealth and influence which this measure opened to the court of Rome, readily complied with the petition of the sovereigns, and expedited a bull bearing date November 1st, 1478, authorising them to appoint two or three ecclesiastics inquisitors for the detection and suppression of heresy throughout their dominions.\*

The queen, however, still averse to violent measures, suspended the operation of the ordinance until a more lenient policy had been first tried. By her command, accordingly, the archbishop of Seville, cardinal Mendoza, drew up a catechism exhibiting the different points of the catholic faith, and instructed the clergy throughout his diocese to spare no pains in illuminating the benighted Israelites, by means of friendly exhortation and a candid exposition of the true principles of Christianity.† How far the spirit of these

\* Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 2, cap. 77.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 43.—Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. pp. 143-145.—Much discrepancy exists in the narratives of Pulgar, Bernaldez, and other contemporary writers, in reference to the era of the establishment of the modern Inquisition. I have followed Llorente, whose chronological accuracy, here and elsewhere, rests on the most authentic documents.

† Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. ubi supra.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 2, cap. 77.—I find no contemporary authority for imputing to cardinal Mendoza an active agency in the establishment of the Inquisition, as is claimed for him by later writers, and especially his kinsman and biographer, the canon Salazar de Mendoza. (*Cron. del Gran Cardenal*, lib. 1, cap. 49.—*Monarquía*, tom. i. p. 336.) The conduct of this eminent minister in this affair seems, on the contrary, to have been equally politic and humane. The imputation of bigotry was not cast upon it until the age when bigotry was esteemed a virtue.

injunctions was complied with, amid the excitement then prevailing, may be reasonably doubted. There could be little doubt, however, that a report, made two years later, by a commission of ecclesiastics, with Alfonso de Ojeda at its head, respecting the progress of the reformation, would be necessarily unfavourable to the Jews.\* In consequence of this report, the papal provisions were enforced by the nomination, on the 17th of September, 1480, of two Dominican monks as inquisitors, with two other ecclesiastics, one as assessor, and the other as procurator fiscal, with instructions to proceed at once to Seville, and enter on the duties of their office. Orders were also issued to the authorities of the city to support the inquisitors by all the aid in their power. But the new institution, which has since become the miserable boast of the Castilians, proved so distasteful to them in its origin, that they refused any co-operation with its ministers, and indeed opposed such delays and embarrassments, that, during the first years, it can scarcely be said to have obtained a footing in any other places in Andalusia than those belonging to the crown.†

On the 2nd of January, 1481, the court commenced operations by the publication of an edict, followed by several others, requiring all persons to aid in apprehending and accusing all such as they might know or suspect to be guilty

\* In the interim, a caustic publication by a Jew appeared, containing strictures on the conduct of the administration, and even on the Christian religion, which was controverted at length by Talavera, afterwards archbishop of Granada. The scandal occasioned by this ill-timed production undoubtedly contributed to exacerbate the popular odium against the Israelites.

† It is worthy of remark, that the famous cortes of Toledo, assembled but a short time previous to the above-mentioned ordinances, and which enacted several oppressive laws in relation to the Jews, made no allusion whatever to the proposed establishment of a tribunal which was to be armed with such terrific powers.

of heresy,\* and holding out the illusory promise of absolution to such as should confess their errors within a limited period. As every mode of accusation, even anonymous, was invited, the number of victims multiplied so fast that the tribunal found it convenient to remove its sittings from the convent of St. Paul, within the city, to the spacious fortress of Triana, in the suburbs.†

The presumptive proofs by which the charge of Judaism was established against the accused are so curious, that a few of them may deserve notice. It was considered good evidence of the fact, if the prisoner wore better clothes or cleaner linen on the Jewish sabbath than on other days of the week; if he had no fire in his house the preceding evening; if he sat at table with Jews, or ate the meat of animals slaughtered by their hands, or drank a certain beverage held in much estimation by them; if he washed a corpse in warm water, or when dying turned his face to the wall; or finally, if he gave Hebrew names to his children; a provision most whimsically cruel, since, by a law of Henry the Second, he was prohibited under severe penalties from giving them Christian names. He must have found it

\* This ordinance, in which Llorente discerns the first regular encroachment of the new tribunal on the civil jurisdiction, was aimed partly at the Andalusian nobility, who afforded a shelter to the Jewish fugitives. Llorente has fallen into the error, more than once, of speaking of the count of Arcos, and marquis of Cadiz, as separate persons. The possessor of both titles was Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, who inherited the former of them from his father. The latter (which he afterwards made so illustrious in the Moorish wars) was conferred on him by Henry IV., being derived from the city of that name, which had been usurped from the crown.

† The historian of Seville quotes the Latin inscription on the portal of the edifice in which the sittings of the dread tribunal were held. Its concluding apostrophe to the Deity is one that the persecuted might join in as heartily as their oppressors. "*Exurge Domine; judica causam tuam; capite nobis vulpes.*"—Zúñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 309.

difficult to extricate himself from the horns of this dilemma.\* Such are a few of the circumstances, some of them purely accidental in their nature, others the result of early habit, which might well have continued after a sincere conversion to Christianity, and all of them trivial, on which capital accusations were to be alleged, and even satisfactorily established.†

The inquisitors, adopting the wily and tortuous policy of the ancient tribunal, proceeded with a despatch which shows that they could have paid little deference even to this affectation of legal form. On the sixth day of January six convicts suffered at the stake. Seventeen more were executed in March, and a still greater number in the month following; and by the 4th of November in the same year no less than two hundred and ninety-eight individuals had been sacrificed in the *autos da fe* of Seville. Besides these, the mouldering remains of many, who had been tried and convicted after their death, were torn up from their graves with a hyena-like ferocity which has disgraced no other court, Christian or Pagan, and condemned to the common funeral pile. This was prepared on a spacious stone scaffold, erected in the suburbs of the city, with the statues of four prophets attached to the corners, to which the unhappy sufferers were bound for the sacrifice, and which the worthy curate of Los Palacios celebrates with much complacency as the spot “where heretics were burnt, and ought to burn as long as any can be found.”‡

\* Ordenanças Reales, lib. 8, tit. 3, ley 26.

† Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. pp. 153-159.

‡ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 44.—Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. p. 160.—L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 164.—The language of Bernaldez, as applied to the four statues of the *quemadero*, “*en que los quemavan*,” is so equivocal, that it has led to some doubts whether he meant to assert that the persons to be burnt were enclosed in the

Many of the convicts were persons estimable for birth and probity ; and among these three clergymen are named , together with other individuals filling judicial or high municipal stations. The sword of justice was observed, in particular, to strike at the wealthy, the least pardonable offenders in times of proscription.

The plague which desolated Seville this year, sweeping off fifteen thousand inhabitants, as if in token of the wrath of Heaven at these enormities, did not paralyse for a moment the arm of the Inquisition, which adjourning to Aracena, continued as indefatigable as before. A similar persecution went forward in other parts of the province of Andalusia ; so that within the same year, 1481, the number of the sufferers was computed at two thousand burnt alive, a still greater number in effigy, and seventeen thousand *reconciled* ; a term which must not be understood by the reader to signify anything like a pardon or amnesty, but only the commutation of a capital sentence for inferior penalties, as fines, civil incapacity, very generally total confiscation of property, and not unfrequently imprisonment for life.\*

statues, or fastened to them. Llorente's subsequent examination has led him to discard the first horrible supposition, which reached the fabled cruelty of Phalaris.—This monument of fanaticism continued to disgrace Seville till 1810, when it was removed in order to make room for the construction of a battery against the French.

\* L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 164.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS, cap. 44.—Mariana, lib. 24, cap. 17.—Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, uti supra.—L. Marineo diffuses the 2,000 capital executions over several years. He sums up the various severities of the Holy Office in the following gentle terms. "The church, who is the mother of mercy, and the fountain of charity, content with the imposition of penances, generously accords life to many who do not deserve it. Whilst those who persist obstinately in their errors, after being imprisoned on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses, she causes to be put to the torture, and condemned to the flames ; some miserably perish, bewailing their errors,

The Jews were astounded by the bolt which had fallen so unexpectedly upon them. Some succeeded in making their escape to Granada, others to France, Germany, or Italy, where they appealed from the decisions of the Holy Office to the sovereign pontiff.\* Sixtus the Fourth appears for a moment to have been touched with something like compunction; for he rebuked the intemperate zeal of the inquisitors, and even menaced them with deprivation. But these feelings, it would seem, were but transient; for, in 1481, we find the same pontiff quieting the scruples of Isabella respecting the appropriation of the confiscated property, and encouraging both sovereigns to proceed in the great work of purification, by an audacious reference to the example of Jesus Christ, who, says he, consolidated his kingdom on earth by the destruction of idolatry; and he concludes with imputing their successes in the Moorish war, upon which they had then entered, to their zeal for the faith, and promising them the like in future. In the course of the same year he expedited two briefs, appointing Thomas de Torquemada inquisitor-general of Castile and Aragon, and clothing him with full powers to frame a new constitution for the Holy Office. (Aug. 2, and Oct. 17, 1483.) This was the origin of that terrible tribunal, the Spanish or Modern Inquisition, familiar to most readers whether of history or romance, which for three centuries has extended its iron sway over the dominions of Spain and Portugal.†

and invoking the name of Christ, while others call upon that of Moses. Many, again, who sincerely repent, shew, notwithstanding the heinousness of their transgressions, *merely sentences to perpetual imprisonment!*" Such were the tender mercies of the Spanish Inquisition.

\* Bernaldez states, that guards were posted at the gates of the city of Seville, in order to prevent the emigration of the Jewish inhabitants, which indeed was forbidden under pain of death. The tribunal, however, had greater terrors for them, and many succeeded in effecting their escape. —Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 44.

† L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 164.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla,

Without going into details respecting the organisation of its various courts, which gradually swelled to thirteen during the present reign, I shall endeavour to exhibit the principles which regulated their proceedings, as deduced in part from the code digested under Torquemada, and partly from the practice which obtained during his supremacy. \*

Edicts were ordered to be published annually, on the first two Sundays in Lent, throughout the churches, enjoining it as a sacred duty on all, who knew or suspected another to be guilty of heresy, to lodge information against him before the Holy Office; and the ministers of religion were instructed to refuse absolution to such as hesitated to comply with this, although the suspected person might stand in the relation of parent, child, husband, or wife. All accusations, anonymous as well as signed, were admitted; it being only necessary to specify the names of the witnesses, whose testimony was taken down in writing by a secretary, and afterwards read to them, which, unless the inaccuracies were so gross as to force themselves upon their attention, they seldom failed to confirm.†

p. 396.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 2, cap. 77.—Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. lib. 18, cap. 17.—Paruno, *De Origine Inquisitionis*, lib. 2, tit. 2, cap. 2.—Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. pp. 163-173.

\* Over these subordinate tribunals Ferdinand erected a court of supervision, with appellate jurisdiction, under the name of Council of the Supreme, consisting of the grand inquisitor as president, and three other ecclesiastics, two of them doctors of law. The principal purpose of this new creation was to secure the interest of the crown in the confiscated property, and to guard against the encroachment of the Inquisition on secular jurisdiction. The expedition however wholly failed, because most of the questions brought before this court were determined by the principles of the canon law, of which the grand inquisitor was to be sole interpreter, the others having only, as it was termed, a "consultative voice."—Llorente, tom. i. pp. 173, 174.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 324.—Riol, *Informe*, apud *Semanario Erudito*, tom. iii. pp. 156 et seq.

† Puigblanch, *Inquisition Unmasked*, vol. i. chap. 4.—Llorente, *Hist.*

The accused, in the meantime, whose mysterious disappearance was perhaps the only public evidence of his arrest, was conveyed to the secret chambers of the Inquisition, where he was jealously excluded from intercourse with all, save a priest of the Romish Church and his jailer, both of whom might be regarded as the spies of the tribunal. In this desolate condition, the unfortunate man, cut off from external communication and all cheering sympathy or support, was kept for some time in ignorance even of the nature of the charges preferred against him ; and at length, instead of the original process, was favoured only with extracts from the depositions of the witnesses, so garbled as to conceal every possible clue to their name and quality. With still greater unfairness, no mention whatever was made of such testimony as had arisen, in the course of the examination, in his own favour. Counsel was indeed allowed from a list presented by his judges. But this privilege availed little, since the parties were not permitted to confer together, and the advocate was furnished with no other sources of information than what had been granted to his client. To add to the injustice of these proceedings, every discrepancy in the statements of the witnesses was converted into a separate charge against the prisoner, who thus, instead of one crime, stood accused of several. This, taken in connexion with the concealment of time, place, and circumstance

de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 6, art. 1 ; chap. 9, art. 1, 2.—The witnesses were questioned in such general terms, that they were even kept in ignorance of the particular matter respecting which they were expected to testify. Thus, they were asked, " if they knew anything which had been said or done contrary to the Catholic faith, and the interests of the tribunal." Their answers often opened a new scent to the judges, and thus, in the language of Montanus, " brought more fishes into the inquisitors' holy angle." See Montanus, *Discovery and Playne Declaration of sundry Subtill Practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne*, Eng. trans. (London, 1569,) fol. 14.



in the accusations, created such embarrassment, that, unless the accused was possessed of unusual acuteness and presence of mind, it was sure to involve him, in his attempts to explain, in inextricable contradiction.\*

If the prisoner refused to confess his guilt, or, as was usual, was suspected of evasion, or an attempt to conceal the truth, he was subjected to the torture. This, which was administered in the deepest vaults of the Inquisition, where the cries of the victim could fall on no ear save that of his tormentors, is admitted by the secretary of the Holy Office, who has furnished the most authentic report of its transactions, not to have been exaggerated in any of the numerous narratives which have dragged these subterranean horrors into light. If the intensity of pain extorted a confession from the sufferer, he was expected, if he survived, which did not always happen, to confirm it on the next day. Should he refuse to do this, his mutilated members were condemned to a repetition of the same sufferings, until his obstinacy (it should rather have been termed his heroism) might be vanquished.† Should the rack, however, prove ineffectual to force a confession of his guilt, he was so far from being considered as having established his innocence, that, with a barbarity unknown to any tribunal where the torture has been admitted, and which of itself proves its utter incompetency to the ends it proposes, he was not unfrequently con-

\* Limborch, *Inquisition*, book 4, chap. 20.—Montanus, *Inquisition of Spayne*, fol. 6-15.—Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. chap. 6, art. 1; chap. 9, art. 4-9.—Puigblanch, *Inquisition Unmasked*, vol. i. chap. 4.

† Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. chap. 9, art. 7.—By a subsequent regulation of Philip II., the repetition of torture in the same process was strictly prohibited to the inquisitors. But they, making use of a sophism worthy of the arch-fiend himself, contrived to evade this law, by pretending, after each new infliction of punishment, that they had only suspended, and not terminated, the torture.

victed on the depositions of the witnesses. At the conclusion of his mock trial, the prisoner was again returned to his dungeon, where, without the blaze of a single faggot to dispel the cold, or illuminate the darkness of the long winter night, he was left in unbroken silence to await the doom which was to consign him to an ignominious death, or a life scarcely less ignominious.\*

The proceedings of the tribunal, as I have stated them, were plainly characterised throughout by the most flagrant injustice and inhumanity to the accused. Instead of presuming his innocence until his guilt had been established, it acted on exactly the opposite principle. Instead of affording him the protection accorded by every other judicature, and especially demanded in his forlorn situation, it used the most insidious arts to circumvent and to crush him. He had no remedy against malice or misapprehension on the part of his accusers, or the witnesses against him, who might be his bitterest enemies; since they were never revealed to, nor confronted with, the prisoner, nor subjected to a cross-examination, which can best expose error or wilful collusion in the evidence.† Even the poor forms of justice recognised in this court might be readily dispensed

\* Montanus, *Inquisition of Spayne*, fol. 24, et seq.—Limboreh, *Inquisition*, vol. ii. chap. 29.—Puigblanch, *Inquisition Unmasked*, vol. i. chap. 4.—Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, ubi supra.—I shall spare the reader the description of the various modes of torture, the rack, fire, and pulley, practised by the inquisitors, which have been so often detailed in the doleful narratives of such as have had the fortune to escape with life from the fangs of the tribunal. If we are to believe Llorente, these barbarities have not been decreed for a long time. Yet some recent statements are at variance with this assertion. See, among others, the celebrated adventurer Van Halen's "Narrative of his Impisonment in the Dungeons of the Inquisition at Madrid, and his Escape in 1817-1818."

† The prisoner had indeed the right of challenging any witness on the ground of personal enmity. (Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. chap. 9, art. 10.) But as he was kept in ignorance of the names of the witnesses

with, as its proceedings were impenetrably shrouded from the public eye by the appalling oath of secrecy imposed on all, whether functionaries, witnesses, or prisoners, who entered within its precincts. The last, and not the least odious feature of the whole, was the connexion established between the condemnation of the accused and the interests of his judges; since the confiscations, which were the uniform penalties of heresy,\* were not permitted to flow into the royal exchequer, until they had first discharged the expenses, whether in the shape of salaries or otherwise, incident to the Holy Office.†

The last scene in this dismal tragedy was the *act of faith*,

employed against him, and as even, if he conjectured right, the degree of enmity competent to set aside testimony was to be determined by his judges, it is evident that his privilege of challenge was wholly nugatory.

\* Confiscation had long been decreed as the punishment of convicted heretics by the statutes of Castile. (*Ordenanzas Reales*, lib. 8, tit. 4.) The avarice of the present system, however, is exemplified by the fact, that those who confessed and sought absolution within the brief term of grace allowed by the inquisitors from the publication of their edict, were liable to arbitrary fines; and those who confessed after that period, escaped with nothing short of confiscation.—Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. pp. 176, 177.

† Ibid. tom. i. p. 216.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 324.—Salazar de Mendoza, *Monarquía*, tom. i. fol. 337.—It is easy to discern, in every part of the odious scheme of the Inquisition, the contrivance of the monks, a class of men cut off by their profession from the usual sympathies of social life, and who, accustomed to the tyranny of the confessional, aimed at establishing the same jurisdiction over thoughts which secular tribunals have wisely confined to actions. Time, instead of softening, gave increased harshness to the features of the new system. The most humane provisions were constantly evaded in practice; and the toils for ensnaring the victim were so ingeniously multiplied, that few, very few, were permitted to escape without some censure. Not more than one person, says Llorente, in one or perhaps two thousand processes, previous to the time of Philip III. received entire absolution. So that it came to be proverbial that all ~~were~~ were not roasted, were at least singed.

“Devant l'Inquisition, quand on vient à jubé,

Si l'on ne sort rôti, l'on sort au moins flambé.”

(auto da fe,) the most imposing spectacle, probably, which has been witnessed since the ancient Roman triumph, and which, as intimated by a Spanish writer, was intended, somewhat profanely, to represent the terrors of the Day of Judgment.\* The proudest grandees of the land, on this occasion, putting on the sable livery of familiars of the Holy Office and bearing aloft its banners, condescended to act as the escort of its ministers; while the ceremony was not unfrequently countenanced by the royal presence. It should be stated, however, that neither of these acts of condescension, or, more properly, humiliation, were witnessed until a period posterior to the present reign. The effect was further heightened by the concourse of ecclesiastics in their sacerdotal robes, and the pompous ceremonial which the church of Rome knows so well how to display on fitting occasions, and which was intended to consecrate, as it were, this bloody sacrifice by the authority of a religion which has expressly declared that it desires mercy and not sacrifice.†

\* Montanus, *Inquisition of Spayne*, fol. 46.—Puigblanch, *Inquisition Unmasked*, vol. i. chap. 4.—Every reader of Tacitus and Juvenal will remember how early the Christians were condemned to endure the penalty of fire. Perhaps the earliest instance of burning to death for heresy in modern times occurred under the reign of Robert of France, in the early part of the eleventh century. (Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. iv. chap. 4.) Paramo, as usual, finds authority for inquisitorial autos da fe, where one would least expect it, in the New Testament. Among other examples, he quotes the remark of James and John, who, when the village of Samaria refused to admit Christ within its walls, would have called down fire from heaven to consume its inhabitants. "Lo!" says Paramo, "fire, the punishment of heretics, for the Samaritans were the heretics of those times." (*De Origine Inquisitionis*, lib. 1, tit. 3, cap. 5.) The worthy father omits to add the impressive rebuke of our Saviour to his over-zealous disciples. "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. The son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

† Puigblanch, vol. i. chap. 4.—The inquisitors, after the celebration of

The most important actors in the scene were the unfortunate convicts, who were now disgorged for the first time from the dungeons of the tribunal. They were clad in coarse woollen garments, styled *san-benitos*, brought close round the neck, and descending like a frock down to the knees.\* These were of a yellow colour, embroidered with a scarlet cross, and well garnished with figures of devils and flames of fire, which, typical of the heretic's destiny hereafter, served to make him more odious in the eyes of the superstitious multitude.† The greater part of the sufferers were condemned to be *reconciled*, the manifold meanings of which soft phrase have been already explained. Those who were to be *relaxed*, as it was called, were delivered over, as impenitent heretics, to the secular arm, in order to expiate their offence by the most painful of deaths, with the consciousness still more painful, that they were to leave behind

an auto da fe at Guadalupe in 1485, wishing probably to justify these bloody executions in the eyes of the people, who had not yet become familiar with them, solicited a sign from the Virgin (whose shrine in that place is noted all over Spain) in testimony of her approbation of the Holy Office. Their petition was answered by such a profusion of miracles, that Dr. Francis Sanctius de la Fuente, who acted as scribe on the occasion, became out of breath, and, after recording sixty, gave up in despair, unable to keep pace with their marvellous rapidity.—Parrino, *De Origine Inquisitionis*, lib. 2, tit. 2, cap. 3.

\* *San benito*, according to Llorente, (tom. i. p. 127,) is a corruption of *saco benito*, being the name given to the dresses worn by penitents previously to the thirteenth century.

† Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. chap. 9, art. 16.—Puigblanch, *Inquisition Unmasked*, vol. i. chap. 4.—Voltaire remarks, (*Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. 140,) that "An Asiatic, arriving at Madrid on the day of an auto da fe, would doubt whether it were a festival, religious celebration, sacrifice, or massacre;—it is all of them. They reproach Montezuma with sacrificing human captives to the gods.—What would he have said, had he witnessed an auto da fe?"

them names branded with infamy, and families involved in irretrievable ruin.\*

It is remarkable, that a scheme so monstrous as that of the Inquisition, presenting the most effectual barrier, probably, that was ever opposed to the progress of knowledge, should have been revived at the close of the fifteenth century, when the light of civilisation was rapidly advancing over every part of Europe. It is more remarkable, that it should have occurred in Spain, at this time under a government which had displayed great religious independence on more than one occasion, and which had paid uniform regard to the rights of its subjects, and pursued a generous policy in reference to their intellectual culture. Where, we are tempted to ask, when we behold the persecution of an innocent industrious people for the crime of adhesion to the faith of their ancestors, where was the charity which led the old Castilian to reverence valour and virtue in an infidel, though an enemy? Where the chivalrous self-devotion which led an Aragonese monarch, three centuries before, to give away his life in defence of the persecuted sectaries of Provence? Where the independent spirit which prompted the Castilian

\* The government, at least, cannot be charged with remissness in promoting this. I find two ordinances in the royal collection of *pragmáticas*, dated in September, 1501, (there must be some error in the date of one of them,) inhibiting, under pain of confiscation of property, such as had been *reconciled*, and their children by the mother's side, and grandchildren by the father's, from holding any office in the privy council, courts of justice, or in the municipalities, or any other place of trust or honour. They were also excluded from the vocations of notaries, surgeons, and apothecaries. (*Pragmáticas del Reyno*, fol. 5, 6.) This was visiting the sins of the fathers, to an extent unparalleled in modern legislation. The sovereigns might find a precedent in a law of Sylla, excluding the children of the proscribed Romans from political honours, thus indignantly noticed by Sallust: "*Quin solus omnium, post memoriam hominum, supplicia in post futuros composuit; quis prius injuria quam vitu cuncta esset.*"—*Hist. Fragmenta*, lib. 1.

nobles, during the very last reign, to reject with scorn the purposed interference of the pope himself in their concerns, that they were now reduced to bow their necks to a few frantic priests, the members of an order which, in Spain at least, was quite as conspicuous for ignorance as intolerance? True indeed the Castilians, and the Aragonese subsequently still more, gave such evidence of their aversion to the institution, that it can hardly be believed the clergy would have succeeded in fastening it upon them, had they not availed themselves of the popular prejudices against the Jews.\* Providence, however, permitted that the sufferings, thus heaped on the heads of this unfortunate people, should be requited in full measure to the nation that inflicted them. The fires of the Inquisition, which were lighted exclusively for the Jews, were destined eventually to consume their oppressors. They were still more deeply avenged in the moral influence of this tribunal, which, eating like a pestilent canker into the heart of the monarchy, at the very time when it was exhibiting a most goodly promise, left it at length a bare and sapless trunk.

Notwithstanding the persecutions under Torquemada were confined almost wholly to the Jews, his activity was such as to furnish abundant precedent, in regard to forms of proceeding, for his successors; if, indeed, the forms may be applied to the conduct of trials so summary, that the tribunal of Toledo alone, under the superintendence of two inquisitors, disposed of three thousand three hundred and twenty-seven processes in little more than a year.† The

\* The Aragonese, as we shall see hereafter, made a manly though ineffectual resistance, from the first, to the introduction of the Inquisition among them by Ferdinand. In Castile, its enormous abuses provoked the spirited interposition of the legislature at the commencement of the following reign. But it was then too late.

† 1485-6. (Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. p. 239.)—In

ts was greatly swelled by the blunders of monks, who acted as qualificators, or int constituted heresy, and whose ignorance tly to condemn, as heterodox, propositions from the fathers of the church. The alone, became so numerous, that it was gn them their own houses as the places ion.

n accurate calculation of the number of by the Inquisition during this reign are ctory. From such as exist, however, n led to the most frightful results. Hc ring the eighteen years of Torquemada's re no less than 10,220 burnt, 6,860 con- it in effigy as absent or dead, and 97,321 ous other penances ; affording an average 00 convicted persons annually.\* In this human misery is not included the mul- s, who, from the confiscation of their ice, were turned over to indigence and the reconciled were afterwards sentenced

no greater apparatus, in 1842, 21,000 processes ese were the first hunts of the Jewish heresy, when an inquisitor, had not the supreme control of the

ids reduces this estimate to 8,800 burnt, 96,501 he diocese of Cuença being comprehended in that . p 252.) Zunita says, that, by 1520, the Inquisi- tenced more than 4,000 persons to be burnt, and iments. Another author, whom he quotes, carries ; total condemned by this single tribunal, within the 100,000.—*Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 324.

f the primitive instructions, the inquisitors were a small portion of the confiscated estates for the an nurture of nunns, children of the condemned,



as relapsed; and the curate of Los Palacios expresses the charitable wish, that "the whole accursed race of Jews, male and female, of twenty years of age and upwards, might be purified with fire and faggot!"<sup>1</sup>

The vast apparatus of the Inquisition involved so heavy an expenditure, that a very small sum, comparatively, found its way into the exchequer, to counterbalance the great detriment resulting to the state from the sacrifice of the most active and skilful part of its population. All temporal interests, however, were held light in comparison with the purgation of the land from heresy; and such augmentations as the revenue did receive, we are assured, were conscientiously devoted to pious purposes, and the Moorish war! †

The Roman see, during all this time, conducting itself

Llorente says, that, in the immense number of processes which he had occasion to consult, he met with no instance of their attention to the fate of these unfortunate orphans.—Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 8.

\* Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 44.—Torquemada waged war upon freedom of thought in every form. In 1490 he caused several Hebrew bibles to be publicly burnt, and, some time after, more than 6,000 volumes of Oriental learning, on the imputation of Judaism, sorcery, or heresy, at the autos da fe of Salamanca, the very nursery of science. (Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 8, art. 5.) This may remind one of the similar sentence passed by Lope de Barrientos, another Dominican, about fifty years before, upon the books of the Marquis of Villena. Fortunately for the dawning literature of Spain, Isabella did not, as was done by her successors, commit the censorship of the press to the judges of the Holy Office, notwithstanding such occasional assumption of power by the grand inquisitor.

† Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 2, cap. 77.—L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 164.—The prodigious desolation of the land may be inferred from the estimates, although somewhat discordant, of deserted houses in Andalusia. Garibay (Compendio, lib. 18, cap. 17,) puts these at three, Pulgar (Reyes Católicos, part. 2, cap. 77,) at four, L. Marineo (Cosas Memorables, fol. 164,) as high as five thousand.

with its usual duplicity, contrived to make a gainful traffic by the sale of dispensations from the penalties incurred by such as fell under the ban of the Inquisition, provided they were rich enough to pay for them, and afterwards revoking them, at the instance of the Castilian court. Meanwhile, the odium excited by the unsparing rigour of Torquemada raised up so many accusations against him, that he was thrice compelled to send an agent to Rome to defend his cause before the pontiff; until, at length, Alexander the Sixth, in 1494, moved by these reiterated complaints, appointed four coadjutors, out of a pretended regard to the infirmities of his age, to share with him the burdens of his office.\*

This personage, who is entitled to so high a rank among those who have been the authors of unmixed evil to their species, was permitted to reach a very old age, and to die quietly in his bed. Yet he lived in such constant apprehension of assassination, that he is said to have kept a reputed unicorn's horn always on his table, which was imagined to have the power of detecting and neutralising poisons; while, for the more complete protection of his person, he was allowed an escort of fifty horse and two hundred foot in his progresses through the kingdom.†

This man's zeal was of such an extravagant character, that it may almost shelter itself under the name of insanity. His history may be thought to prove, that, of all human infirmities, or rather vices, there is none productive of more extensive mischief to society than fanaticism. The opposite principle of atheism, which refuses to recognise the most important sanctions to virtue, does not necessarily imply

\* Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inq.* tom. i. chap. 7. art. 8; chap. 8, art. 6.

† Nic. Antonio, *Bibl. Vetus*, tom. ii. p. 340.—Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inq.* tom. i. chap. 8, art. 6. ●

any destitution of just moral perceptions, that is, of a power of discriminating between right and wrong, in its disciples. But fanaticism is so far subversive of the most established principles of morality, that, under the dangerous maxim, "For the advancement of the faith, all means are lawful," which Tasso has rightly, though perhaps undesignedly, derived from the spirits of hell, it not only excuses, but enjoins the commission of the most revolting crimes, as a sacred duty. The more repugnant, indeed, such crimes may be to natural feeling, or public sentiment, the greater their merit from the sacrifice which the commission of them involves. Many a bloody page of history attests the fact, that fanaticism, armed with power, is the sorest evil which can befall a nation.

---

Don Juan Antonio Llorente is the only writer who has succeeded in completely lifting the veil from the dread mysteries of the Inquisition. It is obvious how very few could be competent to this task, since the proceedings of the Holy Office were shrouded in such impenetrable secrecy, that even the prisoners who were arraigned before it, as has been already stated, were kept in ignorance of their own processes. Even such of its functionaries as have at different times pretended to give its transactions to the world, have confined themselves to an historical outline, with meagre notices of such parts of its internal discipline as might be safely disclosed to the public.

Llorente was secretary to the tribunal of Madrid from 1790 to 1792. His official station consequently afforded him every facility for an acquaintance with the most recondite affairs of the Inquisition; and, on its suppression at the close of 1808, he devoted several years to a careful investigation of the registers of the tribunals both of the capital and the provinces, as well as of such other original documents contained within their archives as had not hitherto been opened to the light of day. In the progress of his work he has anatomised the most odious features of the institution with unsparing severity; and his reflections are warmed with a

---

\* "Per la fè—il tutto lice." *Gerusalemme Liberata*, cant. 4 stanza 26.

generous and enlightened spirit, certainly not to have been expected in an ex-inquisitor. The arrangement of his immense mass of materials is indeed somewhat faulty, and the work might be re-cast in a more popular form, especially by means of a copious retrenchment. With all its subordinate defects, however, it is entitled to the credit of being the most indeed the only, authentic history of the Modern Inquisition ; exhibiting its minutest forms of practice, and the insidious policy by which they were directed, from the origin of the institution down to its temporary abolition. It well deserves to be studied, as the record of the most humiliating triumph which fanaticism has ever been able to obtain over human reason, and that too during the most civilised periods, and in the most civilised portion of the world. The persecutions endured by the unfortunate author of the work, prove that the embers of this fanaticism may be rekindled too easily, even in the present century.

## CHAPTER VIII.

REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONDITION OF THE  
SPANISH ARABS PREVIOUS TO THE WAR OF GRANADA.

Conquest of Spain by the Arabs.—Cordovan Empire.—High Civilisation and Prosperity.—Its Dismemberment. — Kingdom of Granada.—Luxurious and Chivalrous Character.—Literature of the Spanish Arabs.—Progress in Science.—Historical Merits.—Useful Discoveries.—Poetry and Romance.—Influence on the Spaniards.

WE have now arrived at the commencement of the famous war of Granada, which terminated in the subversion of the Arabian empire in Spain, after it had subsisted for nearly eight centuries, and with the consequent restoration to the Castilian crown of the fairest portion of its ancient domain. In order to a better understanding of the character of the Spanish Arabs, or Moors, who exercised an important influence on that of their Christian neighbours, the present chapter will be devoted to a consideration of their previous history in the Peninsula, where they probably reached a higher degree of civilisation than in any other part of the world.\*

It is not necessary to dwell upon the causes of the brilliant successes of Mahometanism at its outset,—the dexterity with which, unlike all other religions, it was raised upon, not against, the principles and prejudices of preceding sects; the military spirit and discipline which it established among all classes, so that the multifarious nations who embraced

\* See Introduction, Section I. note 2, of this History.

it assumed the appearance of one vast well-ordered camp ;<sup>\*</sup> the union of ecclesiastical with civil authority intrusted to the caliphs, which enabled them to control opinions as absolutely as the Roman pontiffs, in their despotic hour ; † or lastly, the peculiar adaptation of the doctrines of Mahomet to the character of the wild tribes among whom they were preached. ‡ It is sufficient to say, that these latter, within

\* The Koran, in addition to the repeated assurances of Paradise to the martyr who falls in battle, contains the regulations of a precise military code. Military service in some shape or other is exacted from all. The terms to be prescribed to the enemy and the vanquished, the division of the spoil, the seasons of lawful truce, the conditions on which the comparatively small number of exempts are permitted to remain at home, are accurately defined. (Sale's Koran, chap. 2, 8, 9, et alibi.) When the *algihed*, or Mahometan Crusade, which in its general design and immunities bore a close resemblance to the Christian, was preached in the mosque, every true believer was bound to repair to the standard of his chief. "The holy war," says one of the early Saracen generals, "is the ladder of Paradise. The Apostle of God styled himself the son of the sword. He loved the repose in the shadow of banners and on the field of battle."

† The successors, caliphs or vicars, as they were styled, of Mahomet, represented both his spiritual and temporal authority. Their office involved almost equally ecclesiastical and military functions. It was their duty to lead the army in battle, and on the pilgrimage to Mecca. They were to preach a sermon, and offer up public prayers in the mosques every Friday. Many of their prerogatives resemble those assumed anciently by the popes. They conferred investitures on the Moslem princes by the symbol of a ring, a sword, or a standard. They complimented them with the titles of "defender of the faith," "column of religion," and the like. The proudest potentate held the bridle of their mules, and paid his homage by touching their threshold with his forehead. The authority of the caliphs was in this manner founded on opinion no less than on power ; and their ordinances, however frivolous or iniquitous in themselves, being enforced, as it were, by a divine sanction, became laws which it was sacrilege to disobey. See D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, (La Haye, 1777-9) voce *Khalifah*.

‡ The character of the Arabs, before the introduction of Islam like that of most rude nations, is to be gathered from their national songs and

a century after the coming of their apostle, having succeeded in establishing their religion over vast regions in Asia, and on the northern shores of Africa, arrived before the Straits of Gibraltar, which, though a temporary, were destined to prove an ineffectual bulwark for Christendom.

The causes which have been currently assigned for the invasion and conquest of Spain, even by the most credible modern historians, have scarcely any foundation in contemporary records. The true causes are to be found in the rich spoils offered by the Gothic monarchy, and in the thirst of enterprise in the Saracens, which their long uninterrupted career of victory seems to have sharpened rather than satisfied.\* The fatal battle which terminated with the

romances. The poems suspended at Mecca, familiar to us in the elegant version of Sir William Jones, and still more the recent translation of "Antar," a composition indeed of the age of Al Rashid, but wholly devoted to the primitive Bedouins, present us with a lively picture of their peculiar habits, which, notwithstanding the influence of a temporary civilisation, may be thought to bear great resemblance to those of their descendants at the present day.

\* Startling as it may be, there is scarcely a vestige of any of the particulars, circumstantially narrated by the national historians (Mariana, Zurita, Abarca, Moret, &c.) as the immediate causes of the subversion of Spain, to be found in the chronicles of the period. No intimation of the persecution, or of the treason, of the two sons of Witiza is to be met with in any Spanish writer, as far as I know, until nearly two centuries after the conquest; none earlier than this, of the defection of Archbishop Oppas, during the fatal conflict near Xerez; and none, of the tragical amours of Roderic and the revenge of Count Julian, before the writers of the thirteenth century. Nothing indeed can be more jejune than the original narratives of the invasion. The continuation of the *Chronicon del Biclarense*, and the *Chronicon de Isidoro Pacense* or *de Beja*, which are contained in the voluminous collection of Florez, (*España Sagrada*, tom. vi. and viii.) afford the only histories contemporary with the event. Conde is mistaken in his assertion (*Dominacion de los Arabes*, Pról. p. vii.) that the work of Isidore de Beja was the only narrative written during that period. Spain had not the pen of a Bede or an Eginhart to describe the memorable

slaughter of King Roderic and the flower of his nobility, was fought in the summer of 711, on a plain washed by the Guadalete near Xerez, about two leagues distant from Cadiz.\* The Goths appear never to have afterwards rallied under one head, but their broken detachments made many a gallant stand in such strong positions as were afforded throughout the kingdom; so that nearly three years elapsed before the final achievement of the conquest. The policy of the conquerors, after making the

catastrophe. But the few and meagre touches of contemporary chroniclers have left ample scope for conjectural history, which has been most industriously improved.

The reports, according to Conde, (*Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom i p. 36,) greedily circulated among the Saracens, of the magnificence and general prosperity of the Gothic monarchy, may sufficiently account for its invasion by an enemy flushed with uninterrupted conquests, and whose fanatical ambition was well illustrated by one of their own generals, who, on reaching the western extremity of Africa, plunged his horse into the Atlantic, and sighed for other shores on which to plant the banners of Islam.—See Cardonne, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes*, (Paris, 1765,) tom. i. p. 37.

\* The laborious diligence of Masdeu may be thought to have settled the epoch, about which so much learned dust has been raised. The fourteenth volume of his "*Historia Crítica de España y de la Cultura Española*" (Madrid, 1783-1805,) contains an accurate table, by which the minutest dates of the Mahometan lunar year are adjusted by those of the Christian era. The fall of Roderic on the field of battle is attested by both the domestic chroniclers of that period, as well as by the Saracens. (*Incerti Auctoris Additio ad Joannem Biclarensem*, apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. vi. p. 430.—*Isidori Pacensis Episcopi Chronicon*, apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. viii. p. 290.) The tales of the ivory and marble chariot, of the gallant steed Orclia and magnificent vestments of Roderic discovered after the fight on the banks of the Guadalete, of his probable escape and subsequent seclusion among the mountains of Portugal, which have been thought worthy of Spanish history, have found a much more appropriate place in their romantic national ballads, as well as in the more elaborate productions of Scott and Southey.



requisite allowance for the evils necessarily attending such an invasion,\* may be considered liberal. Such of the Christians as chose, were permitted to remain in the conquered territory in undisturbed possession of their property. They were allowed to worship in their own way; to be governed, within prescribed limits, by their own laws; to fill certain civil offices, and serve in the army; their women were invited to intermarry with the conquerors;† and, in short, they were condemned to no other legal badge of servitude than the payment of somewhat heavier imposts than those exacted from their Mahometan brethren. It is true the Christians were occasionally exposed to suffering from the caprices of despotism, and, it may be added, of popular fanaticism ‡ But, on the whole, their condition may sustain an advantageous comparison with that of any Christian people

\* "Whatever curses," says an eyewitness, whose meagre diction is quickened on this occasion into something like sublimity, "whatever curses, were denounced by the prophets of old against Jerusalem, whatever fell upon ancient Babylon, whatever miseries Rome inflicted upon the glorious company of the martyrs, all these were visited upon the once happy and prosperous, but now desolated Spain."—*Pacensis Chronicon* apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. viii. p. 292.

† The frequency of this alliance may be inferred from an extraordinary, though, doubtless, extravagant statement cited by Zurita. The ambassador of James II. of Aragon, in 1311, represented to the sovereign pontiff, Clement V., that of the 200,000 souls, which then composed the population of Granada, there were not more than 500 of pure Moorish descent.—*Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 314.

‡ The famous persecutions of Cordova under the reigns of Abderrahman II. and his son, which, to judge from the tone of Castilian writers, might vie with those of Nero and Diocletian, are admitted by Morales (*Obras*, tom. x. p. 74,) to have occasioned the destruction of only forty individuals. Most of these unhappy fanatics solicited the crown of martyrdom by an open violation of the Mahometan laws and usages. The details are given by Florez in the tenth volume of his collection.

under the Mussulman dominion of later times, and affords a striking contrast with that of our Saxon ancestors after the Norman conquest, which suggests an obvious parallel in many of its circumstances to the Saracens.\*

After the further progress of the Arabs in Europe had been checked by the memorable defeat at Tours, their energies, no longer allowed to expand in the career of conquest, recoiled on themselves, and speedily produced the dismemberment of their overgrown empire. Spain was the first of the provinces which fell off. The family of Omeya, under whom this revolution was effected, continued to occupy her throne as independent princes from the middle of the eighth to the close of the eleventh century, a period which forms the most honourable portion of her Arabian annals.

The new government was modelled on the eastern caliphate. Freedom shows itself under a variety of forms; while despotism, at least in the institutions founded on the Koran, seems to wear but one. The sovereign was the depository of all power, the fountain of honour, the sole arbiter of life and fortune. He styled himself "Commander of the Faithful," and, like the Caliphs of the East, assumed an entire spiritual as well as temporal supremacy. The country was distributed into six *capitanias*, or provinces, each under the administration of a *wali*, or governor, with subordinate officers, to whom was intrusted a more immediate jurisdiction over the cities. The immense authority and pretensions of these petty satraps became a fruitful source of rebellion in later

\* Bleda, *Crónica de los Moros de España*, (Valencia, 1618,) lib. 2, cap. 16, 17.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. i. pp. 83 et seq. 179.—Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, Pról. p. vii. and tom. i. pp. 29-54, 75, 87.—Morales, *Obras*, tom. vi. pp. 407-417; tom. vii. pp. 262-264.—Flores, *España Sagrada*, tom. x. pp. 237-270.—Fuero Juzgo, Int p. 40.

times. The caliph administered the government with the advice of his *meuar*, or council of state, composed of his principal *cadis* and *hagibs*, or secretaries. The office of prime minister, or chief *hagib*, corresponded, in the nature and variety of its functions, with that of a Turkish grand vizier. The caliph reserved to himself the right of selecting his successor from among his numerous progeny ; and this adoption was immediately ratified by an oath of allegiance to the heir apparent from the principal officers of state .

The princes of the blood, instead of being condemned, as in Turkey, to waste their youth in the seclusion of the harem, were intrusted to the care of learned men, to be instructed in the duties befitting their station. They were encouraged to visit the academies, which were particularly celebrated in Cordova, where they mingled in disputation, and frequently carried away the prizes of poetry and eloquence. Their riper years exhibited such fruits as were to be expected from their early education. The race of the Omejades need not shrink from a comparison with any other dynasty of equal length in modern Europe. Many of them amused their leisure with poetical composition, of which numerous examples are preserved in Conde's History ; and some left elaborate works of learning, which have maintained a permanent reputation with Arabian scholars. Their long reigns, the first ten of which embrace a period of two centuries and a half, their peaceful deaths, and unbroken line of succession in the same family for so many years, show that their authority must have been founded in the affections of their subjects. Indeed, they seem, with one or two exceptions, to have ruled over them with a truly patriarchal sway ; and, on the event of their deaths, the people, bathed in tears, are described as accompanying

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, part. 2, cap. 1-46.

their relics to the tomb, where the ceremony was concluded with a public eulogy on the virtues of the deceased, by his son and successor.\* This pleasing moral picture affords a strong contrast to the sanguinary scenes which so often attend the transmission of the sceptre from one generation to another among the nations of the East.†

The Spanish caliphs supported a large military force, frequently keeping two or three armies in the field at the same time. The flower of these forces was a body guard, gradually raised to twelve thousand men, one third of them Christians, superbly equipped, and officered by members of the royal family. Their feuds with the eastern caliphs and the Barbary pirates required them also to maintain a respectable navy, which was fitted out from the numerous dock-yards that lined the coast from Cadiz to Tarragona.

The munificence of the Omeiyades was most ostentatiously displayed in their public edifices, palaces, mosques, hospitals, and in the construction of commodious quays, fountains, bridges, and aqueducts, which, penetrating the sides of the mountains, or sweeping on lofty arches across the valleys, rivalled in their proportions the monuments of ancient Rome. These works, which were scattered more or less over all the provinces, contributed especially to the embellishment of Cordova, the capital of the empire. The delightful situation of this city in the midst of a cultivated plain washed by the waters of the Guadalquivir, made it very early the favourite residence of the Arabs, who loved to surround their houses, even in the cities, with groves and

\* Diodorus Siculus, noticing a similar usage at the funerals of the Egyptian kings, remarks on the disinterested and honest nature of the homage, when the object of it is beyond the reach of flattery.—Diod. I. 70 et seq.

† Conde, Dominacion, ubi supra.—Masdeu, *Historia Crítica*, tom. xii. pp. 178, 187.

refreshing fountains, so delightful to the imagination of a wanderer of the desert.\* The public squares and private court-yards sparkled with *jets d'eau*, fed by copious streams from the Sierra Morena, which, besides supplying nine hundred public batlis, were conducted into the interior of the edifices, where they diffused a grateful coolness over the sleeping apartments of their luxurious inhabitants.†

Without adverting to that magnificent freak of the caliphs, the construction of the palace of Azahra, of which not a vestige now remains, we may form a sufficient notion of the taste and magnificence of this era from the remains of the far-famed mosque, now the cathedral of Cordova. This building, which still covers more ground than any other church in Christendom, was esteemed the third in sanctity by the Mahometan world, being inferior only to the Alaksa of Jerusalem and the temple of Mecca. Most of its ancient glories have indeed long since departed. The rich bronze which embossed its gates, the myriads of lamps which illuminated its aisles, have disappeared; and its interior roof of odoriferous and curiously carved wood has been cut up into guitars and snuff-boxes. But its thousand columns of variegated marble still remain; and its general dimensions, notwithstanding some loose assertions to the contrary, seem to be much the same as they were in the time of the

\* The same taste is noticed at the present day, by a traveller whose pictures glow with the warm colours of the east. "Aussi dès que vous approchez, en Europe ou en Asie, d'une terre possédée par les Musulmans, vous la reconnaissez de loin au riche et sombre voile de verdure qui flotte gracieusement sur elle;—des arbres pour s'asseoir à leur ombre, des fontaines jaillissantes pour rêver à leur bruit, du silence et des mosquées aux légers minarets, s'élevant à chaque pas du sein d'une terre pieuse."—Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, tom. i. p. 172.

† Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. i. pp. 199, 265, 284, 285, 417, 446, 447, et alibi.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. i. pp. 227-230 et seq.

Saracens. European critics, however, condemn its most elaborate beauties as "heavy and barbarous." Its celebrated portals are pronounced "diminutive, and in very bad taste." Its throng of pillars gives it the air of "a park rather than a temple," and the whole is made still more incongruous by the unequal length of their shafts, being grotesquely compensated by a proportionate variation of size in their bases and capitals, rudely fashioned after the Corinthian order.

But if all this gives a contemptible idea of the taste of the Saracens at this period, which indeed, in architecture, seems to have been far inferior to that of the later princes of Granada, we cannot but be astonished at the adequacy of their resources to carry such magnificent designs into execution. Their revenue, we are told in explanation, amounted to eight millions of mitcales of gold, or nearly six millions sterling; a sum fifteen-fold greater than that which William the Conqueror, in the subsequent century, was able to extort from his subjects with all the ingenuity of feudal exaction. The tone of exaggeration which distinguishes the Asiatic writers, entitles them, perhaps, to little confidence in their numerical estimates. This immense wealth, however, is predicated of other Mahometan princes of that age; and their vast superiority over the Christian states of the north, in arts and effective industry, may well account for a corresponding superiority in their resources.

The revenue of the Cordovan sovereigns was derived from the fifth of the spoil taken in battle, an important item in

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. i. pp. 211, 212, 226.—Swinburne, *Travels through Spain*, (London, 1787,) let. 35.—Xenif Aladris, conocido por El Nubense, *Descripcion de España*, con Traducion y Notas de Conde, (Madrid, 1790,) pp. 161, 162.—Morales, *Obras*, tom. x. p. 61.—Chenier, *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, et *Histoire de l'Empire de Maroc*, (Paris, 1787,) tom. ii. p. 312.—Laborde, *Itinéraire*, tom. iii. p. 226.

an age of unintermitting war and rapine; from the enormous exaction of one tenth of the produce of commerce, husbandry, flocks, and mines; from a capitation tax on Jews and Christians; and from certain tolls on the transportation of goods. They engaged in commerce on their own account, and drew from mines, which belonged to the crown, a conspicuous part of their incomes.

Before the discovery of America, Spain was to the rest of Europe what her colonies have since become, the great source of mineral wealth. The Carthaginians, and the Romans afterwards, regularly drew from her large masses of the precious metals. Pliny, who resided some time in the country, relates that three of her provinces were said to have annually yielded the incredible quantity of sixty thousand pounds of gold.† The Arabs, with their usual activity, penetrated into these arcana of wealth. Abundant traces of their labours are still to be met with along the barren ridge of mountains that covers the north of Andalusia; and the diligent Bowles has enumerated no less than five thousand of their excavations in the kingdom or district of Jaen.‡

\* Conde, *Domination de los Arabes*, tom. i. pp. 214, 228, 270, 611.—Marsden, *Histoire Critique*, tom. viii. p. 118.—Cudworth, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. i. pp. 333-343.—Cæsar quotes from an Arabic historian the conditions on which Abderrahman I. proffered his alliance to the Christian princes of Spain, viz. the annual tribute of 10,000 ounces of gold, 10,000 pounds of silver, 10,000 horses, &c. &c. The absurdity of this story, inconsiderately repeated by historians, if any argument were necessary to prove it, becomes sufficiently manifest from the fact, that the instrument is dated in the 142nd year of the Hegira, being a little more than fifty years after the conquest. See *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, (Matriti, 1760,) tom. ii. p. 104.

† Hist. Nat. lib. 33, cap. 4.

‡ Introduction à l'Histoire Naturelle de l'Espagne, traduite par Flavigny, (Paris, 1776,) p. 411.

But the best mine of the caliphs was in the industry and sobriety of their subjects. The Arabian colonies have been properly classed among the agricultural. Their acquaintance with the science of husbandry is shown in their voluminous treatises on the subject, and in the monuments which they have everywhere left of their peculiar culture. The system of irrigation which has so long fertilised the south of Spain was derived from them. They introduced into the Peninsula various tropical plants and vegetables, whose cultivation has departed with them. Sugar, which the modern Spaniards have been obliged to import from foreign nations in large quantities annually for their domestic consumption, until within the last half century that they have been supplied by their island of Cuba, constituted one of the principal exports of the Spanish Arabs. The silk manufacture was carried on by them extensively. The Nubian geographer, in the beginning of the twelfth century, enumerates six hundred villages in Jaen as engaged in it, at a time when it was known to the Europeans only from their circuitous traffic with the Greek empire. This, together with fine fabrics of cotton and woollen, formed the staple of an active commerce with the Levant, and especially with Constantinople, whence they were again diffused, by means of the caravans of the North, over the comparatively barbarous countries of Christendom.

The population kept pace with this general prosperity of the country. It would appear, from a census instituted at Cordova at the close of the tenth century, that there were at that time in it six hundred temples and two hundred thousand dwelling-houses: many of these latter being, probably, mere huts or cabins, and occupied by separate families. Without placing too much reliance on any numerical statements, however, we may



give due weight to the inference of an intelligent writer, who remarks that their minute cultivation of the soil, the cheapness of their labour, their particular attention to the most nutritious esculents, many of them such as would be rejected by Europeans at this day, are indicative of a crowded population. Like that, perhaps, which swarms over Japan or China, where the same economy is necessarily resorted to for the mere sustenance of life.

Whatever consequence a nation may derive, in its own age, from physical resources, its intellectual development will form the subject of deepest interest to posterity. The most flourishing periods of both not unfrequently coincide. Thus the reigns of Abderrahman the Third, Allhakem the Second, and the regency of Almanzor, embracing the latter half of the tenth century, during which the Spanish Arabs reached their highest political importance, may be regarded as the period of their highest civilisation under the Omeiyades; although the impulse then given carried them forward to still further advances in the turbulent times which followed. This beneficent impulse is, above all, imputable to Allhakem.

\* See a sensible essay by the Abbé Courtada Seni on the husbandry of the Spanish Arabs, contained in tom. 1 of *Archives Littéraires de l'Europe*, (Paris, 1804)—Vaisieu, *Histoire Critique*, tom. xii. pp. 115, 117, 127, 131.—Gonde, *Domination de los Arabes*, tom. 1. cap. 44.—Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escuridensis*, tom. 1. p. 358.

An absurd story has been transcribed from Cladonne, with little hesitation, by almost every succeeding writer upon this subject. According to him, (*Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. 1. p. 338,) "the banks of the Guadalquivir were lined with no less than twelve thousand villages and hamlets." The length of the river, not exceeding three hundred miles, would scarcely afford room for the same number of farm-houses. Conde's version of the Arabic passage represents twelve thousand hamlets, farms, and castles, to have "been scattered over the regions watered by the Guadalquivir;" indicating by this indefinite statement nothing more than the extreme populousness of the province of Andalusia.

He was one of those rare beings who have employed the awful engine of despotism in promoting the happiness and intelligence of his species. In his elegant tastes, appetite for knowledge, and munificent patronage, he may be compared with the best of the Medici. He assembled the eminent scholars of his time, both natives and foreigners, at his court, where he employed them in the most confidential offices. He converted his palace into an academy, making it the familiar resort of men of letters, at whose conferences he personally assisted in his intervals of leisure from public duty. He selected the most suitable persons for the composition of works on civil and natural history, requiring the prefects of his provinces and cities to furnish, as far as possible, the necessary intelligence. He was a diligent student, and left many of the volumes which he read enriched with his commentaries. Above all, he was intent upon the acquisition of an extensive library. He invited illustrious foreigners to send him their works, and munificently recompensed them. No donative was so grateful to him as a book. He employed agents in Egypt, Syria, Irak, and Persia, for collecting and transcribing the rarest manuscripts; and his vessels returned freighted with cargoes more precious than the spices of the East. In this way he amassed a magnificent collection, which was distributed, according to the subjects, in various apartments of his palace; and which, if we may credit the Arabian historians, amounted to six hundred thousand volumes.\*

\* Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escorialensis*, tom. ii, pp. 38, 202.—Conde, *Domination de los Arabes*, part. 2, cap. 38.—This number will appear less startling if we consider that it was the ancient usage to make a separate volume of each book into which a work was divided; that only one side of the leaf was usually written on, and that writing always covers much greater space than printing. The correct grounds on which the estimates of these ancient libraries are to be formed are exhibited by the learned and ingenious

It all this be thought to savour too much of eastern hyperbole, still it cannot be doubted that an amazing number of writers swarmed over the Peninsula at this period. Cani's multifarious catalogae bears ample testimony to the emulation with which not only men, but even women of the highest rank, devoted themselves to letters; the latter contending publicly for the prizes, not merely in eloquence and poetry, but in those recondite studies which have usually been reserved for the other sex. The prefects of the provinces, emulating their master, converted their courts into academies, and dispensed premiums to poets and philosophers. The stream of royal bounty awakened life in the remotest districts. But its effects were especially visible in the capital. Eighty five schools were opened in Cordova. The circle of letters and science was publicly expounded by professors, whose reputation for wisdom attracted not only the scholars of Christian Spain, but of France, Italy, Germany, and the British Isles. For this period of brilliant illumination with the Saracens corresponds precisely with that of the deepest barbarism of Europe; when a library of three or four hundred volumes was a magnificent endowment for the richest monastery; when scarcely a "priest south of the Thames," in the words of Alfred, "could translate Latin into his mother tongue;" when not a single philosopher, according to Tiraboschi, was to be met with in Italy, save only the French Pope, Sylvester the Second, who drew his knowledge from the schools of the Spanish Arabs, and was esteemed a necromancer for his pains.\*

Balbi, in his recent work, "*Essai Statistique sur les Bibliothèques de Vienne.*" (Vienne, 1835.)

\* *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, (Roma, 1782-97,) tom. iii. p. 231.

—Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, (London, 1820,) vol. iii. p. 137.

—Andres Dell' *Origine, de' Progressi, e dello Stato Attuale d' Ogui*

Such is the glowing picture presented to us of Arabian scholarship, in the tenth and succeeding centuries, under a despotic government and a sensual religion; and, whatever judgment may be passed on the real value of all their boasted literature, it cannot be denied that the nation exhibited a wonderful activity of intellect, and an apparatus for learning (if we are to admit their own statements) unrivalled in the best ages of antiquity.

The Mahometan governments of that period rested on so unsound a basis, that the season of their greatest prosperity was often followed by precipitate decay. This had been the case with the eastern caliphate, and was now so with the western. During the life of Alhaken's successor, the empire of the Omeyyades was broken up into a hundred petty principalities; and their magnificent capital of Cordova, dwindling into a second-rate city, retained no other distinction than that of being the Mecca of Spain. These little states soon became a prey to all the evils arising out of a vicious constitution of government and religion. Almost every accession to the throne was contested by numerous competitors of the same family; and a succession of sovereigns, wearing on their brows but the semblance of a crown, came and departed, like the shadows of Macbeth. The motley tribes of Asiatics, of whom the Spanish Arabian population was composed, regarded each other with ill-disguised jealousy. The lawless, predatory habits, which

Letteraturr, (Venezia, 1783.) part 1, cap. 8, 9.—Cassini, Bibliotheca Escorialensis, tom. ii. p. 149.—Masdeu, Historia Crítica, tom. xiii, pp. 165, 171.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, part. 2, cap. 93.—Among the accomplished women of this period, Valadara, the daughter of the caliph Mahomet, is celebrated as having frequently carried away the palm of eloquence in her discussions with the most learned academicians. Others again, with an intrepidity that might shame the degeneracy of a modern *blu*, plunged boldly into the studies of philosophy, history, and jurisprudence.

no discipline could effectually control in an Arab, made them ever ready for revolt. The Mo-lem states, thus reduced in size and crippled by faction, were unable to resist the Christian forces, which were pressing on them from the North. By the middle of the ninth century, the Spaniards had reached the Douro and the Ebro. By the close of the \*eleventh, they had advanced their line of conquest, under the victorious banner of the Cid, to the Tagus. The swarms of Africans who invaded the Peninsula, during the two following centuries, gave substantial support to their Mahometan brethren; and the cause of Christian Spain trembled in the balance for a moment on the memorable day of Navas de Tolosa. (1212.) But the fortunate issue of that battle, in which, according to the lying letter of Alfonso the Ninth, "one hundred and eighty-five thousand infidels perished, and only five-and-twenty Spaniards," gave a permanent ascendancy to the Christian arms. The vigorous campaigns of James the First of Aragon, and of St. Ferdinand of Castile, gradually stripped away the remaining territories of Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia; so that, by the middle of the thirteenth century, the constantly contracting circle of the Moorish dominion had shrunk into the narrow limits of the province of Granada. Yet on this comparatively small point of the ancient domain, the Saracens erected a new kingdom of sufficient strength to resist, for more than two centuries, the united forces of the Spanish monarchies.

The Moorish territory of Granada contained, within a circuit of about one hundred and eighty leagues, all the physical resources of a great empire. Its broad valleys were intersected by mountains rich in mineral wealth, whose hardy population supplied the state with husbandmen and soldiers. Its pastures were fed by abundant fountains, and its coasts studded with commodious ports, the principal

marts in the Mediterranean. In the midst, and crowning the whole as with a diadem, rose the beautiful city of Granada. In the days of the Moors it was encompassed by a wall, flanked by a thousand and thirty towers, with seven portals.\* Its population, according to a contemporary, at the beginning of the fourteenth century amounted to two hundred thousand souls;† and various authors agree in attesting, that, at a later period, it could send forth fifty thousand warriors from its gates. This statement will not appear exaggerated, if we consider that the native population of the city was greatly swelled by the influx of the ancient inhabitants of the districts lately conquered by the Spaniards. On the summit of one of the hills of the city was erected the royal fortress or palace of the Alhambra, which was capable of containing within its circuit forty thousand men.‡ The light and elegant architecture of this edifice, whose magnificent ruins still form the most interesting monument in Spain, for the contemplation of the traveller, shows the great advancement of the art since the construction of the celebrated mosque of Cordova. Its graceful porticos and colonnades, its domes and ceilings glowing with tints which in that transparent atmosphere have lost nothing of their original brilliancy, its airy halls so constructed as to admit the perfume of surrounding gardens and agreeable ventilations of the air, and its fountains which still shed their coolness over its deserted courts, manifest at once the taste, opulence, and Sybaritic luxury of its proprietors. The streets are represented to have been narrow, many of the houses lofty, with turrets of curiously-wrought larch or marble, and with cornices of shining metal, “that glittered like stars through the dark foliage of the

\* Garibay, Comp. lib. 39, cap. 3.

† Zurita, Anales, lib. 20, cap. 42.

‡ L. Marinco, Cosas Memorables, fol. 169.

orange groves;" and the whole is compared to "an emannelled vase, sparkling with hyacinths, and emeralds." Such are the florid strains in which the Arabic writers fondly de-cent on the glories of Granada.

At the foot of this fabric of the gold lay the cultivated *vega*, or plain, so celebrated as the arena, for more than two centuries, of Moorish and Christian chivalry, every inch of whose soil may be said to have been fertilised with human blood. The Arabs exhausted on it all their powers of elaborate cultivation. They distributed the waters of the Xenil, which flowed through it, into a thousand channels for its more perfect irrigation. A constant succession of fruits and crops was obtained throughout the year. The products of the most opposite latitudes were transplanted there with success; and the hemp of the North grew luxuriant under the shadow of the vine and the olive. Silk furnished the principal staple of a traffic that was carried on through the ports of Almeria and Malaga. The Italian cities, then rising into opulence, derived their principal skill in this elegant manufacture from the Spanish Arabs. Florence, in particular, imported large quantities of the raw material from them as late as the fifteenth century. The Genoese are mentioned as having mercantile establishments in Granada; and treaties of commerce were entered into with this

\* \* Conde, *Domination de los Arabes*, tom. ii, p. 147.—Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escurialensis*, tom. ii, pp. 248 et seq.—Pedraza, *Antigüedad y Exceclencias de Granada*, (Madrid, 1608,) lib. 1.—Pedraza has collected the various etymologies of the term *Granada*, which some writers have traced to the fact of the city having been the spot where the *pomegranate* was first introduced from Africa; others to the large quantity of *grain* in which its vega abounded; others again to the resemblance which the city, divided into two hills thickly sprinkled with houses, bore to a half opened pomegranate. (Lib. 2, cap. 17.) The arms of the city, which were in part composed of a pomegranate, would seem to favour the derivation of its name from that of the fruit.

nation, as well as with the crown of Aragon. Their ports swarmed with a motley contribution from "Europe, Africa, and the Levant;" so that "Granada," in the words of the historian, "became the common city of all nations." "The reputation of the citizens for trustworthiness," says a Spanish writer, "was such, that their bare word was more relied on than a written contract is now among us;" and he quotes the saying of a Catholic bishop, that "Moorish works and Spanish faith were all that were necessary to make a good Christian."<sup>\*</sup>

The revenue, which was computed at twelve hundred thousand ducats, was derived from similar, but in some respects heavier impositions than those of the caliphs of Cordova. The crown, besides being possessed of valuable plantations in the vega, imposed the onerous tax of one seventh on all the agricultural produce of the kingdom. The precious metals were also obtained in considerable quantities, and the royal mint was noted for the purity and elegance of its coin.<sup>†</sup>

The sovereigns of Granada were for the most part distinguished by liberal tastes. They freely dispensed their

\* Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, fol. 101.—Denina, *Delle Rivoluzioni d'Italia*. (Venezia, 1816.)—Capmany y Montplau, *Memorias Históricas sobre la Marina, Comercio, y Artes de Barcelona*, (Madrid, 1779-92.) tom. iii, p. 218; tom. iv. pp. 67 et seq.—Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii, cap. 26.—The ambassador of the emperor Frederic III, on his passage to the court of Lisbon, in the middle of the fifteenth century, contrasts the superior cultivation as well as general civilisation of Granada at this period with that of the other countries of Europe through which he had travelled.—Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques Italiques du Moyen-Age*, (Paris, 1818,) tom. ix. p. 405.

† Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escorialensis*, tom. ii, pp. 250-258.—The fifth volume of the royal Spanish Academy of History contains an erudite essay by Conde on Arabic money, principally with reference to that coined in Spain; pp. 225-315.



revenues in the protection of letters, the construction of sumptuous public works, and, above all, in the display of a courtly pomp, unrivalled by any of the princes of that period. Each day presented a succession of *fêtes* and tourneys, in which the knight seemed less ambitious of the hardy prowess of Christian chivalry, than of displaying his inimitable horsemanship, and his dexterity in the elegant pastimes peculiar to his nation. The people of Granada, like those of ancient Rome, seem to have demanded a perpetual spectacle. Life was with them one long carnival, and the season of revelry was prolonged until the enemy was at the gate.

During the interval, which had elapsed since the decay of the Omeiyades, the Spaniards had been gradually rising in civilisation to the level of their Saracen enemies; and, while their increased consequence secured them from the contempt with which they had formerly been regarded by the Mussulmans, the latter, in their turn, had not so far sunk in the scale as to have become the objects of the bigoted aversion which was, in after days, so heartily visited on them by the Spaniards. At this period, therefore, the two nations viewed each other with more liberality, probably, than at any previous or succeeding time. Their respective monarchs conducted their mutual negotiations on a footing of perfect equality. We find several examples of Arabian sovereigns visiting in person the court of Castile. These civilities were reciprocated by the Christian princes. As late as 1463, Henry the Fourth had a personal interview with the king of Granada, in the dominions of the latter. The two monarchs held their conference under a splendid pavilion erected in the vega, before the gates of the city; and, after an exchange of presents, the Spanish sovereign was escorted to the frontiers by a body of Moorish cavaliers. These acts of courtesy relieve in some measure the ruder

features of an almost uninterrupted warfare, that was necessarily kept up between the rival nations.\*

The Moorish and Christian knights were also in the habit of exchanging visits at the courts of their respective masters. The latter were wont to repair to Granada to settle their affairs of honour, by personal rencounter, in the presence of its sovereign. The disaffected nobles of Castile, among whom Mariana especially notices the Velas and the Castros, often sought an asylum there, and served under the Moslem banner. With this interchange of social courtesy between the two nations, it could not but happen that each should contract somewhat of the peculiarities natural to the other. The Spaniard acquired something of the gravity and magnificence of demeanour proper to the Arabian; and the latter relaxed his habitual reserve, and, above all, the jealousy and gross sensuality which characterise the nations of the East.†

\* A specification of a royal donative in that day may serve to show the martial spirit of the age. In one of these, made by the king of Granada to the Castilian sovereign, we find twenty noble steeds of the royal stud reared on the banks of the Xeni, with superb caparisons, and the same number of scimitars richly garnished with gold and jewels; and in another mixed up with perfumes and cloth of gold, we meet with a litter of tame lions. (Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. pp. 163, 183.) This latter symbol of royalty appears to have been deemed peculiarly appropriate to the kings of Leon. Ferreras informs us that the ambassadors from France at the Castilian court, in 1434, were received by John II. with a full-grown domesticated lion crouching at his feet. (*Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. vi. p. 401.) The same taste appears still to exist in Turkey. Dr. Clarke, in his visit to Constantinople, met with one of these terrific pets, who used to follow his master, Hassan Pacha, about like a dog.

† Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 23.—Henriquez del Castillo (*Crónica*, cap. 138,) gives an account of an intended duel between two Castilian nobles, in the presence of the king of Granada, as late as 1470. One of the parties, Don Alfonso de Aguilar, failing to keep his

Indeed, if we were to rely on the pictures presented to us in the Spanish ballads or *romances*, we should admit as unreserved an intercourse between the sexes to have existed among the Spanish Arabs, as with any other people of Europe. The Moorish lady is represented there as an undisguised spectator of the public festivals; while her knight, bearing an embroidered mantle or scarf, or some other token of her favour, contends openly in her presence for the prize of valour, mingles with her in the graceful dance of the Zambra, or sighs away his soul in moonlight serenades under her balcony.\*

engagement, the other rode round the lions in triumph, with his adversary's portrait contemptuously fastened to the tail of his horse.

\* It must be admitted, that these ballads, as far as facts are concerned, are too inexact to furnish other than a very flippery foundation for history. The most beautiful portion perhaps of the Moorish ballads, for example, is taken up with the feuds of the Abencerrages, in the latter days of Granada. Yet this family, whose romantic story is still repeated to the traveller amid the ruins of the Alhambra, is scarcely noticed, as far as I am aware, by contemporary writers, foreign or domestic, and would seem to owe its chief celebrity to the apocryphal version of Ginés Perez de Hita, whose "Milesian tales," according to the severe sentence of Nic. Antonio, "are fit only to amuse the lazy and the listless." (*Bibliotheca Nova*, tom. i. p. 536.)

But, although the Spanish ballads are not entitled to the credit of strict historical documents, they may yet perhaps be received in evidence of the prevailing character of the social relations of the age; a remark indeed predicable of most works of fiction written by authors contemporary with the events they describe, and more especially so of that popular minstrelsy, which, emanating from a simple, uncorrupted class, is less likely to swerve from truth than more ostentatious works of art. The long cohabitation of the Saracens with the Christians, (full evidence of which is afforded by Capmany, *Mem. de Barcelona*, tom. iv. Apend. No. 11; who quotes a document from the public archives of Catalonia, showing the great number of Saracens residing in Aragon even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the most flourishing period of the Granadian empire,) had enabled many of them confessedly to speak and write the Spanish language with purity and elegance. Some of the graceful little songs, which are

Other circumstances, especially the frescos still extant on the walls of the Alhambra, may be cited as corroborative of the conclusions afforded by the *romances*, implying a latitude in the privileges accorded to the sex, similar to that in Christian countries, and altogether alien from the genius of Mahometanism.\* The chivalrous character ascribed to the Spanish Moslems appears, moreover, in perfect conformity to this. Thus some of their sovereigns, we are told, after the fatigues of the tournament, were wont to recreate their spirits with "elegant poetry, and florid discourses of amorous and knightly history." The ten qualities, enumerated as essential to a true knight, were "picty, valour, courtesy, prowess, the gifts of poetry and eloquence, and dexterity in the management of the horse, the sword, lance, and bow."†

still chanted by the peasantry of Spain in their dances to the accompaniment of the castanet, are referred by a competent critic (Conde, de la Poesía Oriental, MS.) to an Arabic origin. There can be little hazard, therefore, in imputing much of this peculiar minstrelsy to the Arabians themselves, the contemporaries, and perhaps the eyewitnesses, of the events they celebrate.

\* Casiri (Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. p. 259,) has transcribed a passage from an Arabian author of the fourteenth century, inveighing bitterly against the luxury of the Moorish ladies, their gorgeous apparel and habits of expense, "amounting almost to insanity," in a tone which may remind one of the similar philippic by his contemporary Dante, against his fair countrywomen of Florence.—Two ordinances of a king of Granada, cited by Conde in his History, prescribe the separation of the women from the men in the mosques, and prohibit their attendance on certain festivals, without the protection of their husbands or some near relative.—Their *femmes savantes*, as we have seen, were in the habit of conferring freely with men of letters, and of assisting in person at the academical *séances*.—And lastly, the frescos alluded to in the text represent the presence of females at the tournaments, and the fortunate knight receiving the palm of victory from their hands.

† Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. i. p. 340; tom. iii. p. 119.—The reader may compare these essentials of a good Moslem cavalier with

The history of the Spanish Arabs, especially in the latter wars of Granada, furnishes repeated examples, not merely of the heroism which distinguished the European chivalry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but occasionally of a polished courtesy that might have graced a Bayard or a Sidney. This combination of oriental magnificence and knightly prowess shed a ray of glory over the closing days of the Arabian empire in Spain, and served to conceal, though it could not correct, the vices which it possessed in common with all Mahometan institutions.

The government of Granada was not administered with the same tranquillity as that of Cordova. Revolutions were perpetually occurring, which may be traced sometimes to the tyranny of the prince, but more frequently to the factions of the seraglio, the soldiery, or the licentious populace of the capital. The latter, indeed, more volatile than the sands of the deserts from which they originally sprung, were driven by every gust of passion into the most frightful excesses, deposing and even assassinating their monarchs, violating their palaces, and scattering abroad their beautiful collections and libraries; while the kingdom, unlike that of Cordova, was so contracted in its extent, that every convulsion of the capital was felt to its farthest extremities. Still, however, it held out, almost miraculously, against the Christian arms; and the storms that beat upon it incessantly, for more than two centuries, scarcely wore away any thing from its original limits.

Several circumstances may be pointed out as enabling Granada to maintain this protracted resistance. Its concentrated population furnished such abundant supplies of

those enumerated by old Froissart of a good and true Christian knight of his own day: "*Le gentil chevalier a toutes ces nobles vertus que un chevalier doit avoir: il fut lie, loyal, amoureux, sage, secret, large, pieux, hardi, entreprenant, et chevaleureux.*"—*Chronique*, liv. 2, chap. 118.

soldiers, that its sovereigns could bring into the field an army of a hundred thousand men.\* Many of these were drawn from the regions of Alpuxarras, whose rugged inhabitants had not been corrupted by the soft effeminacy of the plains. The ranks were occasionally recruited, moreover, from the warlike tribes of Africa. The Moors of Granada are praised by their enemies for their skill with the cross-bow, to the use of which they were trained from childhood.† But their strength lay chiefly in their cavalry. Their spacious vegas afforded an ample field for the display of their matchless horsemanship; while the face of the country, intersected by mountains and intricate defiles, gave a manifest advantage to the Arabian light-horse over the steel-clad cavalry of the Christians, and was particularly suited to the wild *guerilla* warfare in which the Moors so much excelled. During the long hostilities of the country, almost every city had been converted into a fortress. The number of these fortified places in the territory of Granada was ten times as great as is now to be found throughout the whole Peninsula.‡ Lastly, in addition to these means of defence, may be mentioned their early acquaintance with gunpowder, which, like the Greek fire of Constantinople, contributed perhaps in some degree to prolong their precarious existence beyond its natural term.

But, after all, the strength of Granada, like that of Constantinople, lay less in its own resources than in the weakness

\* Casiri, on Arabian authority, computes it at 200,000 men. Bibl. Escorial. tom. i. p. 338.

† Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 250.

‡ Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 169.—These ruined fortifications still thickly stud the border territories of Granada; and many an Andalusian mill, along the banks of the Guadaya and Guadalquivir, retains its battlemented tower, which served for the defence of its inmates against the forays of the enemy.

of its enemies, who, distracted by the feuds of a turbulent aristocracy, especially during the long minorities with which Castile was afflicted, perhaps more than any other nation in Europe, seemed to be more remote from the conquest of Granada at the death of Henry the Fourth than at that of St. Ferdinand in the thirteenth century. Before entering on the achievement of this conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella, it may not be amiss to notice the probable influence exerted by the Spanish Arabs on European civilisation.

Notwithstanding the high advances made by the Arabians in almost every branch of learning, and the liberal import of certain sayings ascribed to Mahomet, the spirit of his religion was eminently unfavourable to letters. The Koran, whatever be the merit of its literary execution, does not, we believe, contain a single precept in favour of general science.\* Indeed, during the first century after its promulgation, almost as little attention was bestowed upon this by the Saracens, as in their "days of ignorance," as the period is stigmatised which preceded the advent of their apostle.† But, after the nation had reposed from its tumultuous military career, the taste for elegant pleasures, which naturally results from opulence and leisure, began to flow in upon it.

\* D'Herbelot, (*Bib. Orientale*, tom. i. p. 630,) among other authentic traditions of Mahomet, quotes one as indicating his encouragement of letters, viz. "That the ink of the doctors and the blood of the martyrs are of equal price." M. Celsner (*Des Effets de la Religion de Mohammed*, Paris, 1810,) has cited several others of the same liberal import. But such traditions cannot be received in evidence of the original doctrine of the prophet. They are rejected as apocryphal by the Persians and the whole sect of the Shiites, and are entitled to little weight with a European.

† When the caliph Al Mamon encouraged, by his example as well as patronage, a more enlightened policy, he was accused by the more orthodox Mussulmans of attempting to subvert the principles of their religion.—See Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Arabum*, (Oxon. 1650,) p. 166.

It entered upon this new field with all its characteristic enthusiasm, and seemed ambitious of attaining the same pre-eminence in science that it had already reached in arms.

It was at the commencement of this period of intellectual fermentation, that the last of the Omeyyades, escaping into Spain, established there the kingdom of Cordova, and imported along with him the fondness for luxury and letters that had begun to display itself in the capitals of the East. His munificent spirit descended upon his successors; and, on the breaking up of the empire, the various capitals, Seville, Murcia, Malaga, Granada, and others which rose upon its ruins, became the centres of so many intellectual systems, that continued to emit a steady lustre through the clouds and darkness of succeeding centuries. The period of this literary civilisation reached far into the fourteenth century, and thus, embracing an interval of six hundred years, may be said to have exceeded in duration that of any other literature ancient or modern.

There were several auspicious circumstances in the condition of the Spanish Arabs, which distinguished them from their Mahometan brethren. The temperate climate of Spain was far more propitious to robustness and elasticity of intellect than the sultry regions of Arabia and Africa. Its long line of coast and convenient havens opened to it an enlarged commerce. Its number of rival states encouraged a generous emulation, like that which glowed in ancient Greece and modern Italy; and was infinitely more favourable to the development of the mental powers than the far-extended and sluggish empires of Asia. Lastly, a familiar intercourse with the Europeans served to mitigate in the Spanish Arabs some of the more degrading superstitions incident to their religion, and to impart to them nobler ideas of the independence and moral dignity of man than are to be found in the slaves of eastern despotism.



Under these favourable circumstances, provisions for education were liberally multiplied; colleges, academies, and gymnasiums springing up spontaneously, as it were, not merely in the principal cities, but in the most obscure villages of the country. No less than fifty of these colleges or schools could be discerned scattered over the suburbs and populous plain of Granada. Every place of note seems to have furnished materials for a literary history. The copious catalogues of writers, still extant in the Escorial, show how extensively the cultivation of science was pursued, even through its minutest subdivisions; while a biographical notice of blind men, eminent for their scholarship in Spain, proves how far the general avidity for knowledge triumphed over the most discouraging obstacles of nature.\*

The Spanish Arabs emulated their countrymen of the East in their devotion to natural and mathematical science. They penetrated into the remotest regions of Africa and Asia, transmitting an exact account of their proceedings to the national academies. They contributed to astronomical knowledge by the number and accuracy of their observations, and by the improvement of instruments and the erection of observatories, of which the noble tower of Seville is one of the earliest examples. They furnished their full proportion in the department of history, which, according to an Arabian author cited by D'Herbelot, could boast of thirteen hundred writers. The treatises on logic,

\* Andres, *Letteratura*, part. 1, cap. 8-10.—Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escorialensis*, tom. ii. pp. 71-251, et passim.—I had stated in the early editions, on the authority of Casiri, that seventy public libraries existed in Spain at the beginning of the fourteenth century. A sagacious critic in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1839, in a stricture well deserved on this passage, remarks that after a careful examination of the manuscript in the Escorial to which Casiri refers for his account, he could find no warrant for the assertion. It must be confessed to savour rather strongly of the gigantesque.

and metaphysics amount to one ninth of the surviving treasures of the Escorial; and, to conclude this summary of naked details, some of their scholars appear to have entered upon as various a field of philosophical inquiry as would be crowded into a modern encyclopædia.\*

The results, it must be confessed, do not appear to have corresponded with this magnificent apparatus and unrivalled activity of research. The mind of the Arabians was distinguished by the most opposite characteristics, which sometimes, indeed, served to neutralise each other. An acute and subtle perception was often clouded by mysticism and abstraction. They combined a habit of classification and generalisation, with a marvellous fondness for detail; a vivacious fancy with a patience of application that a German of our day might envy; and, while in fiction they launched boldly into originality, indeed extravagance, they were content in philosophy to tread servilely in the track of their ancient masters. They derived their science from versions of the Greek philosophers; but as their previous discipline had not prepared them for its reception, they were oppressed rather than stimulated by the weight of the inheritance. They possessed an indefinite power of accumulation, but they rarely ascended to general principles, or struck out new and important truths; at least, this is certain in regard to their metaphysical labours.

- Hence Aristotle, who taught them to arrange what they had already acquired, rather than to advance to new dis-

\* Casiri mentions one of these universal geniuses, who published no less than a thousand and fifty treatises on the various topics of Ethics, History, Law, Medicine, &c.—*Bibliotheca Escorialensis*, tom. ii. p. 107.—See also tom. i. p. 370; tom. ii. p. 71 et alibi.—Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 22.—D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orientale*, voce *Turikh*.—Marsden, *Historia Critica*, tom. xiii. pp. 203, 205.—Andres, *Letteratura*, part. 1, cap. 8.

coveries, became the god of their idolatry. They piled commentary on commentary, and, in their blind admiration of his system, may be almost said to have been more of Peripatetics than the Stagirite himself. The Cordovan Averroes was the most eminent of his Arabian commentators, and undoubtedly contributed more than any other individual to establish the authority of Aristotle over the reason of mankind for so many ages. Yet his various illustrations have served, in the opinion of European critics, to darken rather than dissipate the ambiguities of his original, and have even led to the confident assertion that he was wholly unacquainted with the Greek language.\*

The Saracens gave an entirely new face to pharmacy and chemistry. They introduced a great variety of salutary medicaments into Europe. The Spanish Arabs, in particular, are commended by Sprengel above their brethren for their observations on the practice of medicine.† But whatever real knowledge they possessed was corrupted by

\* Consult the sensible, though perhaps severe, remarks of Degerando on Arabian science. (*Hist. de Philosophie*, tom. iv. cap. 24.)—The reader may also peruse with advantage a disquisition on Arabian metaphysics in Turner's *History of England*, vol. iv. pp. 405-449.—Brucker, *Hist. Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 105.—Ludovicus Vives seems to have been the author of the imputation in the text (*Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Vetus*, tom. ii. p. 394.) Averroes translated some of the philosophical works of Aristotle from the Greek into Arabic; a Latin version of which translation was afterwards made. Though D'Herbelot is mistaken (*Bib. Orientale*, art. *Roschd.*), in saying that Averroes was the first who translated Aristotle into Arabic; as this had been done two centuries before, at least, by Honain and others in the ninth century, (see Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escurialensis*, tom. i. p. 304,) and Bayle has shown that a Latin version of the Stagirite was used by the Europeans before the alleged period.—See art. *Averroes*.

† Sprengel, *Histoire de la Médecine*, traduite par Jourd'au, (Paris, 1815,) tom. ii. pp. 263 et seq.

their inveterate propensity for mystical and occult science. They too often exhausted both health and fortune in fruitless researches after the elixir of life and the philosopher's stone. Their medical prescriptions were regulated by the aspect of the stars. Their physics were debased by magic, their chemistry degenerated into alchemy, their astronomy into astrology.

In the fruitful field of history, their success was even more equivocal. They seem to have been wholly destitute of the philosophical spirit which gives life to this kind of composition. They were the disciples of fatalism and the subjects of a despotic government. Man appeared to them only in the contrasted aspects of slave and master. What could they know of the finer moral relations, or of the higher energies of the soul, which are developed under free and beneficent institutions? Even could they have formed conceptions of these, how would they have dared to express them? Hence their histories are too often mere barren chronological details, or fulsome panegyrics on their princes, unenlivened by a single spark of philosophy or criticism.

Although the Spanish Arabs are not entitled to the credit of having wrought any important revolution in intellectual or moral science, they are commended by a severe critic, as exhibiting in their writings "the germs of many theories which have been reproduced as discoveries in later ages,"\* and they silently perfected several of those useful arts which have had a sensible influence on the happiness and improvement of mankind. Algebra, and the higher mathematics, were taught in their schools, and thence diffused over Europe. The manufacture of paper, which, since the invention of printing, has contributed so essentially to the rapid circulation of knowledge, was derived through them. M. Casiri

\* Degerando, *Hist. de Philosophie*, tom. iv. ubi supra.

has discovered several manuscripts of cotton paper in the Escorial as early as 1009, and of linen paper of the date of 1106;\* the origin of which latter fabric Tiraboschi has ascribed to an Italian of Trevigi, in the middle of the fourteenth century.† Lastly, the application of gunpowder to military science, which has wrought an equally important revolution, though of a more doubtful complexion, in the condition of society, was derived through the same channel.‡

The influence of the Spanish Arabs, however, is discernible, not so much in the amount of knowledge, as in the impulse which they communicated to the long dormant energies of Europe. Their invasion was coeval with the commencement of that night of darkness which divides the modern from the ancient world. The soil had been impoverished by long assiduous cultivation. The Arabians came like a torrent sweeping down and obliterating even the land-marks of former civilisation, but bringing with it

\* Bibliotheca Escorialensis, tom. ii. p. 9.—Andres, Letteratura, part. 1, cap. 10.

† Letteratura Italiana, tom. v. p. 87.

‡ The battle of Crecy furnishes the earliest instance on record of the use of artillery by the European Christians; although Du Cange, among several examples which he enumerates, has traced a distinct notice of its existence as far back as 1338. (Glossarium ad Scriptores Medix et Infimæ Latinitatis, Paris, 1739; and Supplément, Paris, 1766; voce *Bombarda*.) The history of the Spanish Arabs carries it to a much earlier period. It was employed by the Moorish king of Granada at the siege of Baza, in 1312 and 1325. (Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 18.—Casiri, Bibliotheca Escorialensis, tom. ii. p. 7.) It is distinctly noticed in an Arabian treatise as ancient as 1249; and finally, Casiri quotes a passage from a Spanish author at the close of the eleventh century, (whose MS. according to Nic. Antonio, though familiar to scholars, lies still entombed in the dust of libraries,) which describes the use of artillery in a naval engagement of that period between the Moors of Tunis and of Seville. —Casiri, Bibliotheca Escorialensis, tom. ii. p. 8.—Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Vetus, tom. ii. p. 12.

a fertilising principle, which, as the waters receded, gave new life and loveliness to the landscape. The writings of the Saracens were translated and diffused throughout Europe. Their schools were visited by disciples, who, roused from their lethargy, caught somewhat of the generous enthusiasm of their masters; and a healthful action was given to the European intellect, which, however ill directed at first, was thus prepared for the more judicious and successful efforts of later times.

It is comparatively easy to determine the value of the scientific labours of a people, for truth is the same in all languages; but the laws of taste differ so widely in different nations, that it requires a nicer discrimination to pronounce fairly upon such works as are regulated by them. Nothing is more common than to see the poetry of the East condemned as tumid, over-refined, infected with meretricious ornaments and conceits, and, in short, as every way contravening the principles of good taste. Few of the critics, who thus peremptorily condemn, are capable of reading a line of the original. The merit of poetry, however, consists so much in its literary execution, that a person, to pronounce upon it, should be intimately acquainted with the whole import of the idiom in which it is written. The style of poetry, indeed of all ornamental writing, whether prose or verse, in order to produce a proper effect, must be raised or relieved, as it were, upon the prevailing style of social intercourse. Even where this is highly figurative and impassioned, as with the Arabians, whose ordinary language is made up of metaphor, that of the poet must be still more so. Hence the tone of elegant literature varies so widely in different countries, even in those of Europe, which approach the nearest to each other in their principles of taste, that it would be found difficult, if not impossible, to effect a translation of the most admired specimens of

eloquence from the language of one nation into that of any other. A page of Boccaccio or Bembo, for instance, done into literal English, would have an air of intolerable artifice and verbiage. The choicest morsels of Massillon, Bossuet, or the rhetorical Thomas, would savour marvellously of bombast; and how could we in any degree keep pace with the magnificent march of the Castilian! Yet surely we are not to impugn the taste of all these nations, who attach much more importance, and have paid (at least this is true of the French and Italian) much greater attention to the mere beauties of literary finish than English writers.

Whatever may be the sins of the Arabians on this head, they are certainly not those of negligence. The Spanish Arabs, in particular, were noted for the purity and elegance of their idiom; insomuch that Casiri affects to determine the locality of an author by the superior refinement of his style. Their copious philological and rhetorical treatises, their arts of poetry, grammars, and rhyming dictionaries, show to what an excessive refinement they elaborated the art of composition. Academies, far more numerous than those of Italy, to which they subsequently served for a model, invited by their premiums frequent competitions in poetry and eloquence. To poetry, indeed, especially of the tender kind, the Spanish Arabs seem to have been as indiscriminately addicted as the Italians in the time of Petrarch; and there was scarcely a doctor in church or state, but at some time or other offered up his amorous incense on the altar of the muse.\*

With all this poetic feeling, however, the Arabs never availed themselves of the treasures of Grecian eloquence

\* Petrarch complains in one of his letters from the country, that "jurisconsults and divines, nay, his own valet, had taken to rhyming; and he was afraid the very cattle might begin to low in verse;" apud De Sade, *Mémoires pour La Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. iii. p. 243.

which lay open before them. Not a poet or orator of any eminence in that language seems to have been translated by them.\* The temperate tone of Attic composition appeared tame to the fervid conceptions of the East. Neither did they venture upon what in Europe are considered the higher walks of the art, the drama and the epic.† None of their writers in prose or verse show much attention to the development or dissection of character. Their inspiration exhaled in lyrical effusions, in elegies, epigrams, and idyls. They sometimes, moreover, like the Italians, employed verse as the vehicle of instruction in the grave and recondite sciences. The general character of their poetry is bold, florid, impassioned, richly coloured with imagery, sparkling with conceits and metaphors, and occasionally breathing a deep tone of moral sensibility, as in some of the plaintive effusions ascribed by Conde to the royal poets of Cordova. The compositions of the golden age of the Abbassides, and of the preceding period, do not seem to have been infected with the taint of exaggeration, so offensive to a European, which distinguishes the later productions in the decay of the empire.

Whatever be thought of the influence of the Arabic on European literature in general, there can be no reasonable doubt that it has been considerable on the Provençale and the Castilian. In the latter, especially, so far from being

\* Andres, *Letteratura*, part. 1, cap. 11.—Yet this popular assertion is contradicted by Reinesius, who states, that both Homer and Pindar were translated into Arabic by the middle of the eighth century.—See Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, (Hamb. 1712-33,) tom. xii. p. 753.

† Sir William Jones, *Traité sur la Poésie Orientale*, sec. 2.—Sismondi says that Sir W. Jones is mistaken in citing the history of Timour by Ebn Arabschah, as an Arabic epic. (*Littérature du Midi*, tom. i. p. 57.) It is Sismondi who is mistaken, since the English critic states that the Arabs have no heroic poem, and that this poetical prose history is not accounted such even by the Arabs themselves.



confined to the vocabulary, or to external forms of composition, it seems to have penetrated deep into its spirit, and is plainly discernible in that affectation of stateliness and oriental hyperbole, which characterises Spanish writers even at the present day; in the subtilities and conceits with which the ancient Castilian verse is so liberally bespangled; and in the relish for proverbs and prudential maxims, which is so general that it may be considered national.

\* It would require much more learning than I am fortified with to enter into the merits of the question which has been raised respecting the probable influence of the Arabian on the literature of Europe. A. W. Schlegel, in a work of little bulk, but much value, in refuting with his usual vivacity the extravagant theory of Andres, has been led to conclusions of an opposite nature, which may be thought perhaps scarcely less extravagant. (*Observations sur la Langue et la Littérature Provençales*, p. 64.) It must indeed seem highly improbable that the Saracens, who, during the middle ages, were so far superior in science and literary culture to the Europeans, could have resided so long in immediate contact with them, and in those very countries indeed which gave birth to the most cultivated poetry of that period, without exerting some perceptible influence upon it. Be this as it may, its influence on the Castilian cannot reasonably be disputed. This has been briefly traced by Conde in an "Essay on Oriental Poetry," *Poesía Oriental*, whose publication he anticipates in the preface to his "History of the Spanish Arabs," but which still remains in manuscript. (The copy I have used is in the Library of Mr. George Ticknor.) He professes in this work to discern in the earlier Castilian poetry, in the *Cid*, the Alexander, in Berceo's the arch-priest of Hila's, and others of similar antiquity, most of the peculiarities and varieties of Arabian verse; the same cadences and number of syllables, the same intermixture of assonances and consonances, the double hemistich and prolonged repetition of the final rhyme. From the same source he derives much of the earlier rural minstrelsy of Spain, as well as the measures of its romances and seguidillas; and in the Preface to his History, he has ventured on the bold assertion, that the Castilian owes so much of its vocabulary to the Arabic, that it may be almost accounted a dialect of the latter. Conde's criticisms, however, must be quoted with reserve. His habitual studies had given him such a keen relish for oriental literature, that he was, in a manner, denaturalised from his own,

A decided effect has been produced on the romantic literature of Europe by those tales of fairy enchantment, so characteristic of oriental genius, and in which it seems to have revelled with uncontrolled delight. These tales, which furnished the principal diversion of the East, were imported by the Saracens into Spain; and we find the monarchs of Cordova solacing their leisure hours with listening to their *rawis*, or novelists, who sang to them

“Of lady-love and war, romance, and knightly worth.”\*

The same spirit, penetrating into France, stimulated the more sluggish inventions of the *trouvère*, and, at a later and more polished period, called forth the imperishable creations of the Italian muse.†

It is unfortunate for the Arabians that their literature should be locked up in a character and idiom so difficult of access to European scholars. Their wild imaginative poetry, scarcely capable of transfusion into a foreign tongue, is made known to us only through the medium of bald prose translation; while their scientific treatises have been done into Latin with an inaccuracy which, to make use of a pun of Casiri's, merits the name of perversions rather than versions of the originals.‡ How obviously inadequate, then,

\* Byron's beautiful line may seem almost a version of Conde's Spanish text, “sucesos de armas y de amores con muy estraños lances y en elegante estilo.”—*Domination de los Arabes*, tom. i. p. 457.

† Sismondi, in his *Littérature du Midi* (tom. i. pp. 267 et seq.), and more fully in his *Républiques Italiennes* (tom. xvi. pp. 448 et seq.), derives the jealousy of the sex, the ideas of honour, and the deadly spirit of revenge, which distinguished the southern nations of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from the Arabians. Whatever be thought of the jealousy of the sex, it might have been supposed that the principles of honour and the spirit of revenge might, without seeking further, find abundant precedent in the feudal habits and institutions of our European ancestors.

‡ “*Quas perversiones potius, quam versiones meritò dixeris.*”—*Bibliotheca Escorialensis*, tom. i. p. 266.

- are our means of forming any just estimate of their literary merits ! It is unfortunate for them, moreover, that the Turks, the only nation which, from an identity of religion and government with the Arabs, as well as from its political consequence, would seem to represent them on the theatre of modern Europe, should be a race so degraded ; one
- which, during the five centuries that it has been in possession of the finest climate and monuments of antiquity, has so seldom been quickened into a display of genius or added so little of positive value to the literary treasures descended from its ancient masters. Yet this people, so sensual and sluggish, we are apt to confound in imagination with the sprightly, intellectual Arab. Both, indeed, have been subjected to the influence of the same degrading political and religious institutions, which on the Turks have produced the results naturally to have been expected ; while the Arabians, on the other hand, exhibit the extraordinary phenomenon of a nation, under all these embarrassments, rising to a high degree of elegance and intellectual culture.

The empire which once embraced more than half of the ancient world, has now shrunk within its original limits ; and the Bedouin wanders over his native desert as free, and almost as uncivilised, as before the coming of his apostle. The language, which was once spoken along the southern shores of the Mediterranean and the whole extent of the Indian ocean, is broken up into a variety of discordant dialects. Darkness has again settled over those regions of Africa which were illumined by the light of learning. The elegant dialect of the Koran is studied as a dead language, even in the birth-place of the prophet. Not a printing press at this day is to be found throughout the whole Arabian Peninsula. Even in Spain, in Christian Spain, alas ! the contrast is scarcely less degrading. A death-like torpor has succeeded to her former intellectual activity.

Her cities are emptied of the population with which they teemed in the days of the Saracens. Her climate is as fair, but her fields no longer bloom with the same rich and variegated husbandry. Her most interesting monuments are those constructed by the Arabs; and the traveller, as he wanders amid their desolate, but beautiful ruins, ponders on the destinies of a people whose very existence seems now to have been almost as fanciful as the magical creations in one of their own fairy tales. •

---

Notwithstanding the history of the Arabs is so intimately connected with that of the Spaniards, that it may be justly said to form the reverse side of it, and notwithstanding the amplitude of authentic documents in the Arabic tongue to be found in the public libraries, the Castilian writers, even the most eminent, until the latter half of the last century, with an insensibility which can be imputed to nothing else but a spirit of religious bigotry, have been content to derive their narratives exclusively from national authorities. A fire, which occurred in the Escorial in 1671, having consumed more than three quarters of the magnificent collection of eastern manuscripts which it contained, the Spanish government, taking some shame to itself, as it would appear, for its past supineness, caused a copious catalogue of the surviving volumes, to the number of 1850, to be compiled by the learned Casiri; and the result was his celebrated work, "*Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*," which appeared in the years 1760-70, and which would reflect credit from the splendour of its typographical execution on any press of the present day. This work, although censured by some later orientalists as hasty and superficial, must ever be highly valued as affording the only complete index to the rich repertory of • Arabian manuscripts in the Escorial, and for the ample evidence which it exhibits of the science and mental culture of the Spanish Arabs. Several other native scholars, among whom Andres and Masdeu may be particularly noticed, have made extensive researches into the literary history of this people. Still their political history, so essential to a correct knowledge of the Spanish, was comparatively neglected, until Señor Conde, the late learned librarian of the Academy, who had given ample evidence of his oriental learning in his version and illustrations of the Nubian Geographer, and a Dissertation on Arabic Coins, published in the fifth volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of History, compiled his work

entitled "*Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España.*" The first volume appeared in 1820; but unhappily the death of its author, occurring in the autumn of the same year, prevented the completion of his design. The two remaining volumes, however, were printed in the course of that and the following year from his own manuscripts; and, although their comparative meagreness and confused chronology betray the want of the same paternal hand, they contain much interesting information. The relation of the conquest of Granada, especially, with which the work concludes, exhibits some important particulars in a totally different point of view from that in which they had been presented by the principal Spanish historians.

The first volume, which may be considered as having received the last touches of its author, embraces a circumstantial narrative of the great Saracen invasion, of the subsequent condition of Spain under the viceroys, and of the empire of the Omeiyades; undoubtedly the most splendid portion of the Arabian annals, but the one, unluckily, which has been most copiously illustrated in the popular work compiled by Cardonne from the oriental manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris. As this author, however, has followed the Spanish and the latter authorities indiscriminately, no part of his book can be cited as a genuine Arabic version, except, indeed, the last sixty pages, comprising the conquest of Granada, which Cardonne professes in his preface to have drawn exclusively from an Arabian manuscript. Conde, on the other hand, professes to have adhered to his originals with such scrupulous fidelity, that "the European reader may feel that he is perusing an Arabian author;" and certainly very strong internal evidence is afforded of the truth of this assertion, in the peculiar national and religious spirit which pervades the work, and in a certain florid gasconade of style common with the oriental writers. It is this fidelity that constitutes the peculiar value of Conde's narrative. It is the first time that the Arabians, at least those of Spain, the part of the nation which reached the highest degree of refinement, have been allowed to speak for themselves. The history, or rather tissue of histories, embodied in the translation, is certainly conceived in no very philosophical spirit, and contains, as might be expected from an Asiatic pen, little for the edification of a European reader on subjects of policy and government. The narrative is, moreover, encumbered with frivolous details and a barren muster-roll of names and titles, which would better become a genealogical table than a history. But, with every deduction, it must be allowed to exhibit a sufficiently clear view of the intricate conflicting relations of the petty principalities which swarmed over the Peninsula; and to furnish

abundant evidence of a wide-spread intellectual improvement amid all the horrors of anarchy and a ferocious despotism. The work has already been translated or rather paraphrased into French. The necessity of an English version will doubtless be in a great degree superseded by the History of the Spanish Arabs, preparing for the Cabinet Cyclopædia by Mr. Southey, —a writer with whom few Castilian scholars will be willing to compete, even on their own ground; and who is, happily, not exposed to the national or religious prejudices which can interfere with his rendering perfect justice to his subject.

## CHAPTER IX.

WAR OF GRANADA.—SURPRISE OF ZAHARA.—CAPTURE OF ALHAMA.

1481—1482.

Zahara surprised by the Moors—Marquis of Cadiz—His expedition against Alhama—Valor of the citizens—Desperate Struggle—Fall of Alhama.—Consternation of the Moors.—Vigorous measures of the Queen.

No sooner had Ferdinand and Isabella restored internal tranquillity to their dominions, and made the strength effective which had been acquired by their union under one government, than they turned their eyes to those fair regions of the Peninsula over which the Moslem crescent had reigned triumphant for nearly eight centuries. Fortunately an act of aggression on the part of the Moors furnished a pretext for entering on their plan of conquest, at the moment when it was ripe for execution. Aben Ismail, who had ruled in Granada during the latter part of John the Second's reign, and the commencement of Henry the Fourth's, had been partly indebted for his throne to the former monarch; and sentiments of gratitude, combined with a naturally amiable disposition, had led him to foster as amicable relations with the Christian princes, as the jealousy of two nations, that might be considered the natural enemies of each other, would permit; so that, notwithstanding an occasional border foray, or the capture of a frontier fortress, such a correspondence was maintained between the two kingdoms, that the nobles of Castile frequently resorted to the court of Granada, where, forgetting

their ancient feuds, they mingled with the Moorish cavaliers, in the generous pastimes of chivalry.

Muley Abul Hacen, who succeeded his father in 1466, was of a very different temperament. His fiery character prompted him, when very young, to violate the truce by an unprovoked inroad into Andalusia; and, although after his accession domestic troubles occupied him too closely to allow leisure for foreign war, he still cherished in secret the same feelings of animosity against the Christians. When, in 1476, the Spanish sovereigns required, as the condition of a renewal of the truce which he solicited, the payment of the annual tribute imposed on his predecessor, he proudly replied, that "the mints of Granada coined no longer gold, but steel." His subsequent conduct did not belie the spirit of this Spartan answer.\*

At length, towards the close of the year 1481, the storm which had been so long gathering, burst upon Zahara, a small fortified town on the frontier of Andalusia, crowning a lofty eminence, washed at its base by the river Guadalete, which from its position seemed almost inaccessible. The garrison, trusting to these natural defences, suffered itself to be surprised, on the night of the 26th of December, by the Moorish monarch; who, scaling the walls under favour of a furious tempest, which prevented his approach from being readily heard, put to the sword such of the guard as offered resistance, and swept away the whole population of the place, men, women, and children, in slavery to Granada.

The intelligence of this disaster caused deep mortification to the Spanish sovereigns, especially to Ferdinand, by whose grandfather Zahara had been recovered from the Moors. Measures were accordingly taken for strengthening

\* Caidonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 467-469.—  
Conde, *Domnacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 32, 34.



the whole line of frontier, and the utmost vigilance was exerted to detect some vulnerable point of the enemy, on which retaliation might be successfully inflicted. Neither were the tidings of their own successes welcomed with the joy that might have been expected by the people of Granada. The prognostics, it was said, afforded by the appearance of the heavens, boded no good. More sure prognostics were afforded in the judgments of thinking men, who deprecated the temerity of awakening the wrath of a vindictive and powerful enemy. "Woe is me!" exclaimed an ancient Alfaki, on quitting the hall of audience. "The ruins of Zahara will fall on our own heads; the days of the Moslem empire in Spain are now numbered!"\*

It was not long before the desired opportunity for retaliation presented itself to the Spaniards. One Juan de Ortega, a captain of *escaladores*, or scalers, so denominated from the peculiar service in which they were employed in besieging cities, who had acquired some reputation under John the Second in the wars of Roussillon, reported to Diego de Merlo, assistant of Seville, that the fortress of Alhama, situated in the heart of the Moorish territories, was so negligently guarded, that it might be easily carried by an enemy who had skill enough to approach it. The fortress, as well as the city of the same name, which it commanded, was built, like many others in

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 51.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 34.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 180.—L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 171.—Marmol, Historia del Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos, (Madrid, 1797,) lib. 1, cap. 12.

Lebrija states that the revenues of Granada, at the commencement of this war, amounted to a million of gold ducats, and that it kept in pay 7,000 horsemen on its peace establishment, and could send forth 21,000 warriors from its gates. The last of these estimates would not seem to be exaggerated.—Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 1, cap. 1.

that turbulent period, along the crest of a rocky eminence, encompassed by a river at its base, and, from its natural advantages, might be deemed impregnable. This strength of position, by rendering all other precautions apparently superfluous, lulled its defenders into a security like that which had proved so fatal to Zahara. Alhama, as this Arabic name implies, was famous for its baths, whose annual rents are said to have amounted to five hundred thousand ducats. The monarchs of Granada indulging the taste common to the people of the East, used to frequent this place, with their court, to refresh themselves with its delicious waters, so that Alhama became embellished with all the magnificence of a royal residence. The place was still further enriched by its being the *dépôt* of the public taxes on land, which constituted a principal branch of the revenue, and by its various manufactures of cloth, for which its inhabitants were celebrated throughout the kingdom of Granada.

Diego de Merlo, although struck with the advantages of this conquest, was not insensible to the difficulties with which it would be attended ; since Alhama was sheltered under the very wings of Granada, from which it lay scarcely eight leagues distant, and could be reached only by traversing the most populous portion of the Moorish territory, or by surmounting a precipitous *sierra*, or chain of mountains, which screened it on the north. Without delay, however, he communicated the information which he had received to Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, marquis of Cadiz, as the person best fitted by his capacity and courage for such an enterprise. This nobleman, who had succeeded

\* Estrada, Poblacion de España, tom. ii. pp. 247, 248.—El Nubense, Descripcion de España, p. 222, note.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 181.—Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.

his father, the count of Arcos, in 1469, as head of the great house of Ponce de Leon, was at this period about thirty-nine years of age. Although a younger and illegitimate son, he had been preferred to the succession in consequence of the extraordinary promise which his early youth exhibited. When scarcely seventeen years old, he achieved a victory over the Moors, accompanied with a signal display of personal prowess. Later in life, he formed a connexion with the daughter of the marquis of Villena, the factious minister of Henry the Fourth, through whose influence he was raised to the dignity of marquis of Cadiz. This alliance attached him to the fortunes of Henry in his disputes with his brother Alfonso, and subsequently with Isabella, on whose accession, of course, Don Rodrigo looked with no friendly eye. He did not, however, engage in any overt act of resistance, but occupied himself with prosecuting an hereditary feud, which he had revived with the duke of Medina Sidonia, the head of the Guzmans; a family which from ancient times had divided with his own the great interests of Andalusia. The pertinacity with which this feud was conducted, and the desolation which it carried not only into Seville, but into

\* Zuñiga, *Annales de Seville*, pp. 349, 362.

This occurred in the fight of Madroño, when Don Rodrigo stooping to adjust his buckler, which had been unlaced, was suddenly surrounded by a party of Moors. He snatched a sling from one of them, and made such brisk use of it, that, after disabling several, he succeeded in putting them to flight; for which feat, says Zuñiga, the king complimented him with the title of "the youthful David."

Don Juan, count of Arcos, had no children born in wedlock, but a numerous progeny by his concubines. Among these latter was Doña Leonora Nuñez de Prado, the mother of Don Rodrigo. The brilliant and attractive qualities of this youth so far won the affections of his father, that the latter obtained the royal sanction (a circumstance not unfrequent in an age when the laws of descent were very unsettled) to bequeath him his titles and estates, to the prejudice of more legitimate heirs.

every quarter of the province, have been noticed in the preceding pages. The vigorous administration of Isabella repressed these disorders, and, after abridging the overgrown power of the two nobles, effected an apparent (it was only apparent) reconciliation between them. The fiery spirit of the marquis of Cadiz, no longer allowed to escape in domestic broil, urged him to seek distinction in more honourable warfare; and at this moment he lay in his castle at Arcos, looking with a watchful eye over the borders, and waiting like a lion in ambush the moment when he could spring upon his victim.

Without hesitation, therefore, he assumed the enterprise proposed by Diego de Merlo, imparting his purpose to Don Pedro Henriquez *adelantado* of Andalusia, a relative of Ferdinand, and to the alcajdes of two or three neighbouring fortresses. With the assistance of these friends he assembled a force, which, including those who marched under the banner of Seville, amounted to two thousand five hundred horse and three thousand foot. His own town of Marchena was appointed as the place of rendezvous. The proposed route lay by the way of Antequera, across the wild sierras of Alzerifa. The mountain passes, sufficiently difficult at a season when their numerous ravines were choked up by the winter torrents, were rendered still more formidable by being traversed in the darkness of night; for the party, in order to conceal their movements, lay by during the day. Leaving their baggage on the banks of the Yeguas, that they might move forward with greater celerity, the whole body at length arrived, after a rapid and most painful march, on the third night from their departure, in a deep valley about half a league from Alhama. Here the marquis first revealed the real object of the expedition to his soldiers, who, little dreaming of any thing beyond a mere border inroad, were transported with joy

at the prospect of the rich booty so nearly within their grasp.<sup>2</sup>

The next morning, being the 28th of February, a small party was detached, about two hours before dawn, under the command of John de Ortega, for the purpose of scaling the citadel, while the main body moved forward more leisurely under the marquis of Cadiz, in order to support them. The night was dark and tempestuous, circumstances which favoured their approach in the same manner as with the Moors at Zahara. After ascending the rocky heights which were crowned by the citadel, the ladders were silently placed against the walls, and Ortega, followed by about thirty others, succeeded in gaining the battlements unobserved. A sentinel, who was found sleeping on his post, they at once despatched, and, proceeding cautiously forward to the guard-room, put the whole of the little garrison to the sword, after the short and ineffectual resistance that could be opposed by men suddenly roused from slumber. The city, in the meantime, was alarmed, but it was too late; the citadel was taken; and the outer gates, which opened into the country, being thrown open, the marquis of Cadiz entered with trumpet sounding and banner flying, at the head of his army, and took possession of the fortress.<sup>†</sup>

After allowing the refreshment necessary to the exhausted spirits of his soldiers, the marquis resolved to sally forth at once upon the town, before its inhabitants could muster in

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 52.—L. Marinco, Cosas Memorables, fol. 171.—Pulgar computes the marquis's army at 3,000 horse and 4,000 foot.—Reyes Católicos, p. 181.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 34.

† Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 1, cap. 2.—Carbajal, Anales, MS. año 1482.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 52.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 315.—Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 252, 253.

sufficient force to oppose him. But the citizens of Alhama, showing a resolution rather to have been expected from men trained in a camp than from the peaceful burghers of a manufacturing town, had sprung to arms at the first alarm, and, gathering in the narrow street on which the portal of the castle opened, so completely commanded it with their arquebuses and crossbows, that the Spaniards, after an ineffectual attempt to force a passage, were compelled to recoil upon their defences, amid showers of bolts and balls, which occasioned the loss, among others, of two of their principal alcaýdes.

A council of war was then called, in which it was even advised by some, that the fortress, after having been dismantled, should be abandoned as incapable of defence against the citizens on the one hand, and the succours which might be expected speedily to arrive from Granada on the other. But this counsel was rejected with indignation by the marquis of Cadiz, whose fiery spirit rose with the occasion; indeed, it was not very palatable to most of his followers, whose cupidity was more than ever inflamed by the sight of the rich spoil, which, after so many fatigues, now lay at their feet. It was accordingly resolved to demolish part of the fortifications which looked towards the town, and, at all hazards, to force a passage into it. This resolution was at once put into execution; and the marquis • throwing himself into the breach thus made, at the head of his men-at-arms, and shouting his war-cry of “St. James and the Virgin,” precipitated himself into the thickest of the enemy. Others of the Spaniards, running along the out-works contiguous to the buildings of the city, leaped into the street, and joined their companions there; while others again sallied from the gates, now opened for the second time.\*

\* Bernalder, Reyes Católicos, MS ubi supra.—Conde, Dominación de los Arabes, cap 34.—L. Maimeo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 172.

The Moors, unshaken by the fury of this assault, received the assailants with brisk and well-directed volleys of shot and arrows ; while the women and children, thronging the roofs and balconies of the houses, discharged on their heads boiling oil, pitch, and missiles of every description. But the weapons of the Moors glanced comparatively harmless from the mailed armour of the Spaniards ; while their own bodies, loosely arrayed in such habiliments as they could throw over them in the confusion of the night, presented a fatal mark to their enemies. Still they continued to maintain a stout resistance, checking the progress of the Spaniards by barricades of timber hastily thrown across the streets ; and, as their intrenchments were forced one after another, they disputed every inch of ground with the desperation of men who fought for life, fortune, liberty,—all that was most dear to them. The contest hardly slackened till the close of day, while the kennels literally ran with blood, and every avenue was choked up with the bodies of the slain. At length, however, Spanish valour proved triumphant in every quarter, except where a small and desperate remnant of the Moors, having gathered their wives and children around them, retreated as a last resort into a large mosque near the walls of the city, from which they kept up a galling fire on the close ranks of the Christians. The latter, after enduring some loss, succeeded in sheltering themselves so effectually under a roof or canopy constructed of their own shields, in the manner practised in war previous to the exclusive use of fire-arms, that they were enabled to approach so near the mosque as to set fire to its doors ; when its tenants, menaced with suffocation, made a desperate sally, in which many perished, and the remainder surrendered at discretion. The prisoners thus made were all massacred on the spot, without distinction of sex or age, according to the Saracen accounts. But the Castilian writers make no mention of this ; and, as

the appetites of the Spaniards were not yet stimulated by that love of carnage which they afterwards displayed in their American wars, and which was repugnant to the chivalrous spirit with which their contests with the Moslems were usually conducted, we may be justified in regarding it as an invention of the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

Alhama was now delivered up to the sack of the soldiery, and rich indeed was the booty which fell into their hands,—gold and silver plate, pearls, jewels, fine silks and cloths, curious and costly furniture, and all the various appurtenances of a thriving, luxurious city. In addition to which, the magazines were found well stored with the more substantial, and, at the present juncture, more serviceable supplies of grain, oil, and other provisions. Nearly a quarter of the population is said to have perished in the various conflicts of the day; and the remainder, according to the usage of the time, became the prize of the victors. A considerable number of Christian captives, who were found immured in the public prisons, were restored to freedom, and swelled the general jubilee with their grateful acclamations. The contemporary Castilian chroniclers record also, with no less satisfaction, the detection of a Christian renegade, notorious for his depredations on his countrymen, whose misdeeds the marquis of Cadiz requited, by causing him to be hung up over the battlements of the castle, in the face of the whole city. Thus fell the ancient city of Alhama, the first conquest, and achieved with a gallantry and daring unsurpassed by any other during this memorable war.<sup>†</sup>

The report of this disaster fell like the knell of their own doom on the ears of the inhabitants of Granada. It seemed

<sup>1</sup> Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, ubi sup.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 182, 183.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. pp. 515, 516.

<sup>†</sup> Benaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 52.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, ubi sup.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 254.



as if the hand of Providence itself must have been stretched forth to smite the stately city, which, reposing as it were under the shadow of their own walls, and in the bosom of a peaceful and populous country, was thus suddenly laid low in blood and ashes. Men now read the fulfilment of the disastrous omens and predictions which ushered in the capture of Zahara. The melancholy *romance* or ballad, with the burden of *Ay de mi Alhama!* "Woe is me, Alhama!" composed probably by some one of the nation not long after this event, shows how deep was the dejection which settled on the spirits of the people. The old king, Abul Hacen, however, far from resigning himself to useless lamentation, sought to retrieve his loss by the most vigorous measures. A body of a thousand horse was sent forward to reconnoitre the city, while he prepared to follow with as powerful levies as he could enforce of the militia of Granada.\*

"Passeavase el Rey Moro  
Por la ciudad de Granada.  
Desde las puertas de Elvira  
Hasta las de Bivarambla.  
Ay de mi Alhama!

"Cartas le fueron venidas  
Que Alhama era ganada.  
Las cartas echó en el fuego,  
Y al mensajero matava.  
Ay de mi Alhama!

"Hombres, niños y mugeres,  
Lloran tan grande perdida.  
Lloravan todas las damas  
Quantas en Granada avia.  
Ay de mi Alhama!

"Por las calles y ventanas  
Mucho luto parecia;  
Lloia el Rey como fembra,  
Qu' es mucho lo que perdia.  
Ay de mi Alhama!"

The intelligence of the conquest of Alhama diffused general satisfaction throughout Castile, and was especially grateful to the sovereigns, who welcomed it as an auspicious omen of the ultimate success of their designs upon the Moors. They were attending mass in their royal palace of Medina del Campo, when they received despatches from the marquis of Cadiz, informing them of the issue of his enterprise. "During all the while he sat at dinner," says a precise chronicler of the period, "the prudent Ferdinand was revolving in his mind the course best to be adopted." He reflected that the Castilians would soon be beleaguered by an overwhelming force from Granada, and he determined at all hazards to support them. He accordingly gave orders to make instant preparation for departure; but first accompanied the queen, attended by a solemn procession of the court and clergy, to the cathedral church of St. James, where *Te Deum* was chanted, and a humble thanksgiving offered up to the Lord of hosts for the success with which he had crowned their arms. Towards evening, the king set forward on his journey to the south, escorted by such nobles and cavaliers as were in attendance on his person, leaving the queen to follow more leisurely, after having provided reinforcements and supplies requisite for the prosecution of the war. \*

On the 5th of March, the king of Granada appeared before the walls of Alhama, with an army which amounted

The *romance*, according to Hyta, (not the best voucher for a fact,) caused such general lamentation, that it was not allowed to be sung by the Moors after the conquest.—(*Guerras Civiles de Granada*, tom. i. p. 350.) Lord Byron, as the reader recollects, has done this ballad into English. The version has the merit of fidelity. It is not his fault if his Muse appears to little advantage in the plebeian dress of the Moorish minstrel.

\* L. Marino, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 172.—Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 34.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 1482.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. pp. 345, 346.

to three thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. The first object which encountered his eyes, was the mangled remains of his unfortunate subjects, which the Christians, who would have been scandalised by an attempt to give them the rites of sepulture, had from dread of infection thrown over the walls, where they now lay half-devoured by birds of prey and the ravenous dogs of the city. The Moslem troops, transported with horror and indignation at this hideous spectacle, called loudly to be led to the attack. They had marched from Granada with so much precipitation, that they were wholly unprovided with artillery, in the use of which they were expert for that period; and which was now the more necessary, as the Spaniards had diligently employed the few days which intervened since their occupation of the place, in repairing the breaches in the fortifications, and in putting them in a posture of defence. But the Moorish ranks were filled with the flower of their chivalry; and their immense superiority of numbers enabled them to make their attacks simultaneously on the most distant quarters of the town, with such unintermitted vivacity, that the little garrison, scarcely allowed a moment for repose, was well-nigh exhausted with fatigue.\*

At length, however, Abul Hacen, after the loss of more than two thousand of his bravest troops in these precipitate assaults, became convinced of the impracticability of forcing a position whose natural strength was so ably seconded by the valour of its defenders, and he determined to reduce the place by the more tardy but certain method of blockade. In this he was favoured by one or two circumstances. The

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 52. — Bernaldez swells the Moslem army to 5,500 horse, and 80,000 foot, but I have preferred the more moderate and probable estimate of the Arabian authors. Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 34. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, loc. cit.

town, having but a single well within its walls, was almost wholly indebted for its supplies of water to the river which flowed at its base. The Moors, by dint of great labour, succeeded in diverting the stream so effectually that the only communication with it, which remained open to the besieged, was by a subterraneous gallery or mine, that had probably been contrived with reference to some such emergency by the original inhabitants. The mouth of this passage was commanded in such a manner by the Moorish archers, that no egress could be obtained without a regular skirmish, so that every drop of water might be said to be purchased with the blood of Christians. who, "if they had not possessed the courage of Spaniards," says a Castilian writer, "would have been reduced to the last extremity." In addition to this calamity, the garrison began to be menaced with scarcity of provisions, owing to the improvident waste of the soldiers, who supposed that the city, after being plundered, was to be razed to the ground and abandoned.\*

At this crisis they received the unwelcome tidings of the failure of an expedition destined for their relief by Alonso de Aguilar. This cavalier, the chief of an illustrious house since rendered immortal by the renown of his younger brother Gonsalvo de Cordova, had assembled a considerable body of troops, on learning the capture of Alhama, for the purpose of supporting his friend and companion in arms, the marquis of Cadiz. On reaching the shores of the Yeguas, he received, for the first time, advices of the formidable host which lay between him and the city, rendering hopeless any attempt to penetrate into the latter with his inadequate force. Contenting himself, therefore, with recovering the baggage

\* Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. iii. lib. 18, cap. 23.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 183, 184.

which the marquis's army in its rapid march, as has been already noticed, had left on the banks of the river, he returned to Antequera.\*

Under these depressing circumstances, the indomitable spirit of the marquis of Cadiz seemed to infuse itself into the hearts of his soldiers. He was ever in the front of danger, and shared the privations of the meanest of his followers; encouraging them to rely with undoubting confidence on the sympathies which their cause must awaken in the breasts of their countrymen. The event proved that he did not miscalculate. Soon after the occupation of Alhama, the marquis, foreseeing the difficulties of his situation, had despatched missives, requesting the support of the principal lords and cities of Andalusia. In this summons he had omitted the duke of Medina Sidonia, as one who had good reason to take umbrage at being excluded from a share in the original enterprise. Henrique de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia, possessed a degree of power more considerable than any other chieftain in the south. His yearly rents amounted to nearly sixty thousand ducats, and he could bring into the field, it was said, from his own resources, an army little inferior to what might be raised by a sovereign prince. He had succeeded to his inheritance in 1468, and had very early given his support to the pretensions of Isabella. Notwithstanding his deadly feud with the marquis of Cadiz, he had the generosity, on the breaking out of the present war, to march to the relief of the marchioness when beleaguered, during her husband's absence, by a party of Moors from Ronda, in her own castle of Arcos. He now showed a similar alacrity in sacrificing all personal jealousy at the call of patriotism.†

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 52.

† Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 360.—L. Marinco, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 24, 172.—Lebrija, *Rerum Gestarum Decades*, lib. 1, cap. 3.

No sooner did he learn the perilous condition of his countrymen in Alhama, than he mustered the whole array of his household troops and retainers, which, when combined with those of the marquis de Villena, of the count de Cabra, and those from Seville, in which city the family of the Guzmans had long exercised a sort of hereditary influence, swelled to the number of five thousand horse and forty thousand foot. The duke of Medina Sidonia, putting himself at the head of this powerful body, set forward without delay on his expedition.

When king Ferdinand in his progress to the south had reached the little town of Adamuz, about five leagues from Cordova, he was informed of the advance of the Andalusian chivalry, and instantly sent instructions to the duke to delay his march, as he intended to come in person and assume the command. But the latter, returning a respectful apology for his disobedience, represented to his master the extremities to which the besieged were already reduced, and without waiting for a reply pushed on with the utmost vigour for Alhama. The Moorish monarch, alarmed at the approach of so powerful a reinforcement, saw himself in danger of being hemmed in between the garrison on the one side, and these new enemies on the other. Without waiting their appearance on the crest of the eminence which separated him from them, he hastily broke up his encampment, on the 29th of March, after a siege of more than three weeks, and retreated on his capital.\*

The garrison of Alhama viewed with astonishment the sudden departure of their enemies; but their wonder was

\* Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 183, 184.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 53.—Fenicias, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. vii. p. 572.—Zuñiga, Anales de Sevilla, pp. 392, 393.—Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 257.

converted into joy when they beheld the bright arms and banners of their countrymen gleaming along the declivities of the mountains. They rushed out with tumultuous transport to receive them, and pour forth their grateful acknowledgments, while the two commanders, embracing each other in the presence of their united armies, pledged themselves to a mutual oblivion of all past grievances; thus affording to the nation the best possible earnest of future successes, in the voluntary extinction of a feud which had desolated it for so many generations.

Notwithstanding the kindly feelings excited between the two armies, a dispute had wellnigh arisen respecting the division of the spoil, in which the duke's army claimed a share, as having contributed to secure the conquest which their more fortunate countrymen had effected. But these discontents were appeased, though with some difficulty, by their noble leader, who besought his men not to tarnish the laurels already won, by mingling a sordid avarice with the generous motives which had prompted them to the expedition. After the necessary time devoted to repose and refreshment the combined armies proceeded to evacuate Alhama; and having left in garrison Don Diego Merlo, with a corps of troops of the hermandad, returned into their own territories.\*

King Ferdinand, after receiving the reply of the duke of Medina Sidonia, had pressed forward his march by the way of Cordova, as far as Lucena, with the intention of throwing himself at all hazards into Alhama. He was not without much difficulty dissuaded from this by his nobles, who represented the temerity of the enterprise, and its incompetency to any good result, even should he succeed with the small force of which he was master. On receiving intelligence

\* Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 183-186.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.

that the siege was raised, he returned to Cordova, where he was joined by the queen towards the latter part of April. Isabella had been employed in making vigorous preparation for carrying on the war, by enforcing the requisite supplies, and summoning the crown vassals, and the principal nobility of the north, to hold themselves in readiness to join the royal standard in Andalusia. After this, she proceeded by rapid stages to Cordova, notwithstanding the state of pregnancy in which she was then far advanced.

Here the sovereigns received the unwelcome information, that the king of Granada, on the retreat of the Spaniards, had again sat down before Alhama; having brought with him artillery, from the want of which he had suffered so much in the preceding siege. This news struck a damp into the hearts of the Castilians, many of whom recommended the total evacuation of a place, "which," they said, "was so near the capital that it must be perpetually exposed to sudden and dangerous assaults; while, from the difficulty of reaching it, it would cost the Castilians an incalculable waste of blood and treasure in its defence. It was experience of these evils which had led to its abandonment in former days, when it had been recovered by the Spanish arms from the Saracens."

Isabella was far from being shaken by these arguments. "Glory," she said, "was not to be won without danger. The present war was one of peculiar difficulties and danger, and these had been well calculated before entering upon it. The strong and central position of Alhama made it of the last importance, since it might be regarded as the key of the enemy's country. This was the first blow struck during the war, and honour and policy alike forbade them to adopt a measure which could not fail to damp the ardour of the nation." The opinion of the queen, thus decisively expressed, determined the question, and kindled a spark



of her own enthusiasm in the breasts of the most desponding.\*

It was settled that the king should march to the relief of the besieged, taking with him the most ample supplies of forage and provisions, at the head of a force strong enough to compel the retreat of the Moorish monarch. This was effected without delay; and Abul Hacen once more breaking up his camp on the rumour of Ferdinand's approach, the latter took possession of the city without opposition, on the 14th of May. The king was attended by a splendid train of his prelates and principal nobility; and he prepared, with their aid, to dedicate his new conquest to the service of the cross, with all the formalities of the Romish church. After the ceremony of purification, the three principal mosques of the city were consecrated by the cardinal of Spain as temples of Christian worship. Bells, crosses, a sumptuous service of plate, and other sacred utensils, were liberally furnished by the queen; and the principal church of Santa Maria de la Encarnacion long exhibited a covering of the altar, richly embroidered by her own hands. Isabella lost no opportunity of manifesting that she had entered into the war, less from motives of ambition, than of zeal for the exaltation of the true faith. After the completion of these ceremonies, Ferdinand, having strengthened the garrison with new recruits under the command of Portocarrero, lord of Palma, and victualled it with three months' provisions, prepared for a foray into the vega of Granada. This he executed in the true spirit of that merciless warfare, so

\* Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 53, 54.—Pulgar states that Ferdinand took the more southern route of Antequera, where he received the tidings of the Moorish king's retreat. The discrepancy is of no great consequence; but as Bernaldez, whom I have followed, lived in Andalusia, the theatre of action, he may be supposed to have had more accurate means of information.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 187, 188.

repugnant to the more civilised usage of later times, not only by sweeping away the green, unripened crops, but by cutting down the trees, and eradicating the vines; and then, without so much as having broken a lance in the expedition, returned in triumph to Cordova.\*

Isabella in the meanwhile was engaged in active measures for prosecuting the war. She issued orders to the various cities of Castile and Leon, as far as the borders of Biscay and Guipuscoa, prescribing the *repartimiento*, or subsidy of provisions, and the quota of troops, to be furnished by each district respectively, together with an adequate supply of ammunition and artillery. The whole were to be in readiness before Loja by the 1st of July; when Ferdinand was to take the field in person at the head of his chivalry, and besiege that strong post. As advices were received, that the Moors of Granada were making efforts to obtain the co-operation of their African brethren in support of the Mahometan empire in Spain, the queen caused a fleet to be manned under the command of her two best admirals, with instructions to sweep the Mediterranean as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, and thus effectually cut off all communication with the Barbary coast.†

\* Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 54, 55.—Lebrija, *Rerum Gestarum Decades*, lib. 1, cap. 6.—Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, cap. 34.—Salazar de Mendoza, *Crón. del Gran Cardenal*, pp. 180, 181.—Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 12.

During this second siege, a body of Moorish knights to the number of forty, succeeded in scaling the walls of the city in the night, and had nearly reached the gates with the intention of throwing them open to their countrymen, when they were overpowered, after a desperate resistance, by the Christians, who acquired a rich booty, as many of them were persons of rank. There is considerable variation in the authorities, in regard to the date of Ferdinand's occupation of Alhama. I have been guided, as before, by Bernaldez.

† Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 188, 189.

## CHAPTER X.

WAR OF GRANADA.—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT ON LOJA.—DEFEAT IN THE AXARQUIA.

1482—1485.

Unsuccessful attempt on Loja.—Revolution in Granada.—Expedition to the Axarquía.—Military Array.—Moorish preparations.—Bloody Conflict among the Mountains.—The Spaniards force a passage.—The Marquis of Cadiz escapes.

LOJA stands not many leagues from Alhama, on the banks of the Xenil, which rolls its clear current through a valley luxuriant with vineyards and olive gardens; but the city is deeply intrenched among hills of so rugged an aspect, that it has been led not inappropriately to assume as the motto on its arms, "A flower among thorns." Under the Moors, it was defended by a strong fortress, while the Xenil, circumscribing it like a deep moat upon the south, formed an excellent protection against the approaches of a besieging army; since the river was fordable only in one place, and traversed by a single bridge, which might be easily commanded by the city. In addition to these advantages, the king of Granada, taking warning from the fate of Alhama, had strengthened its garrison with three thousand of his choicest troops, under the command of a skilful and experienced warrior, named Ali Atar.\*

\* Estrada, *Poblacion de España*, tom. ii. pp. 242, 243.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 317.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 261.

In the meanwhile, the efforts of the Spanish sovereigns to procure supplies adequate to the undertaking against Loja, had not been crowned with success. The cities and districts, of which the requisitions had been made, had discovered the tardiness usual in such unwieldy bodies; and their interest, moreover, was considerably impaired by their distance from the theatre of action. Ferdinand, on mustering his army towards the latter part of June, found that it did not exceed four thousand horse and twelve thousand, or indeed, according to some accounts, eight thousand foot: most of them raw militia, who, poorly provided with military stores and artillery, formed a force obviously inadequate to the magnitude of his enterprise. Some of his counsellors would have persuaded him, from these considerations, to turn his arms against some weaker and more assailable point than Loja. But Ferdinand burned with a desire for distinction in the new war, and suffered his ardour for once to get the better of his prudence. The distrust felt by the leaders seems to have infected the lower ranks, who drew the most unfavourable prognostics from the dejected mien of those who bore the royal standard to the cathedral of Cordova, in order to receive the benediction of the church before entering on the expedition.

Ferdinand, crossing the Xenil at Ecija, arrived again on its banks before Loja, on the 1st of July. The army encamped among the hills, whose deep ravines obstructed communication between its different quarters; while the level plains below were intersected by numerous canals, equally unfavourable to the manœuvres of the men-at-arms. The duke of Villa Hermosa, the king's brother, and captain-general of the hermandad, an officer of large experience,

\* Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 58.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. pp. 249, 250.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 259, 260.

would have persuaded Ferdinand to attempt, by throwing bridges across the river lower down the stream, to approach the city on the other side. But his counsel was overruled by the Castilian officers, to whom the location of the camp had been intrusted, and who neglected, according to Zurita, to advise with the Andalusian chiefs, although far better instructed than themselves in Moorish warfare.\*

A large detachment of the army was ordered to occupy a lofty eminence, at some distance, called the Heights of Albohacen, and to fortify it with such few pieces of ordnance as they had, with the view of annoying the city. This commission was intrusted to the marquises of Cadiz and Villena, and the grand master of Calatrava; which last nobleman had brought to the field about four hundred horse and a large body of infantry from the places belonging to his order in Andalusia. Before the intrenchment could be fully completed, Ali Atar, discerning the importance of this commanding station, made a sortie from the town, for the purpose of dislodging his enemies. The latter poured out from their works to encounter him; but the Moslem general, scarcely waiting to receive the shock, wheeled his squadrons round, and began a precipitate retreat. The Spaniards eagerly pursued; but, when they had been drawn to a sufficient distance from the redoubt, a party of Moorish *ginetes*, or light cavalry, who had crossed the river unobserved during the night and lain in ambush, after the wily fashion of Arabian tactics, darted from their place of concealment, and galloping into the deserted camp, plundered it of its contents, including the lombards, or small pieces of artillery, with which it was garnished. The Castilians, too late perceiving their error, halted from the pursuit, and returned with as much speed as possible to the defence of their camp.

\* L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 173.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 187.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 316, 317.

Ali Atar, turning also, hung close on their rear, so that, when the Christians arrived at the summit of the hill, they found themselves hemmed in between the two divisions of the Moorish army. A brisk action now ensued and lasted nearly an hour; when the advance of reinforcements from the main body of the Spanish army, which had been delayed by distance and impediments on the road, compelled the Moors to a prompt but orderly retreat into their own city. The Christians sustained a heavy loss, particularly in the death of Rodrigo Tellez Giron, grand master of Calatrava. He was hit by two arrows, the last of which, penetrating the joints of his harness beneath his sword-arm, as he was in the act of raising it, inflicted on him a mortal wound, of which he expired in a few hours, says an old chronicler, after having confessed, and performed the last duties of a good and faithful Christian. Although scarcely twenty-four years of age, this cavalier had given proofs of such signal prowess, that he was esteemed one of the best knights of Castile; and his death threw a general gloom over the whole army.\*

Ferdinand now became convinced of the unsuitableness of a position, which neither admitted of easy communication between the different quarters of his own camp, nor enabled him to intercept the supplies daily passing into that of his enemy. Other inconveniences also pressed upon him. His men were so badly provided with the necessary utensils for dressing their food, that they were obliged either to devour it raw, or only half cooked. Most of them being new recruits, unaccustomed to the privations of war, and many exhausted by a wearisome length of march before joining

\* Rades y Andrada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, fol. 80, 81.—L. Marino, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 173.—Lebrija, *Rerum Gestarum Decades*, ii. lib. 1, cap. 7.—Conde, *Domination de los Arabes*, tom. iii. p. 214.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 1482.

the army, they began openly to murmur, and even to desert in great numbers. Ferdinand therefore resolved to fall back as far as Rio Frio, and await there patiently the arrival of such fresh reinforcements as might put him in condition to enforce a more rigorous blockade.

Orders were accordingly issued to the cavaliers occupying the Heights of Albohacen to break up their camp, and fall back on the main body of the army. This was executed on the following morning before dawn, being the 4th of July. No sooner did the Moors of Loja perceive their enemy abandoning his strong position, than they sallied forth in considerable force to take possession of it. Ferdinand's men, who had not been advised of the proposed manœuvre, no sooner beheld the Moorish array brightening the crest of the mountain, and their own countrymen rapidly descending, than they imagined that these latter had been surprised in their intrenchments during the night, and were now flying before the enemy. An alarm instantly spread through the whole camp. Instead of standing to their defence, each one thought only of saving himself by as speedy a flight as possible. In vain did Ferdinand, riding along their broken files, endeavour to reanimate their spirits and restore order. He might as easily have calmed the winds, as the disorder of a panic-struck mob, unschooled by discipline or experience. Ali Atar's practised eye speedily discerned the confusion which prevailed through the Christian camp. Without delay, he rushed forth impetuously at the head of his whole array from the gates of Loja, and converted into a real danger what had before been only an imaginary one.\*

At this perilous moment, nothing but Ferdinand's coolness

\* Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 189-191.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 58.—Conde, *Domination de los Arabes*, tom. iii, pp. 214-217.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 260, 261.

could have saved the army from total destruction. Putting himself at the head of the royal guard, and accompanied by a gallant band of cavaliers, who held honour dearer than life, he made such a determined stand against the Moorish advance, that Ali Atar was compelled to pause in his career. A furious struggle ensued betwixt this devoted little band and the whole strength of the Moslem army. Ferdinand was repeatedly exposed to imminent peril. On one occasion he was indebted for his safety to the marquis of Cadiz, who, charging at the head of about sixty lances, broke the deep ranks of the Moorish column, and, compelling it to recoil, succeeded in rescuing his sovereign. In this adventure he narrowly escaped with his own life, his horse being shot under him at the very moment when he had lost his lance in the body of a Moor. Never did the Spanish chivalry shed its blood more freely. The constable, count de Haro, received three wounds in the face. The duke of Medina Celi was unhorsed and brought to the ground, and saved with difficulty by his own men; and the count of Tendilla, whose encampment lay nearest the city, received several severe blows, and would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had it not been for the timely aid of his friend, the young count of Zúñiga.

The Moors, finding it so difficult to make an impression on this iron band of warriors, began at length to slacken their efforts, and finally allowed Ferdinand to draw off the remnant of his forces without further opposition. The king continued his retreat without halting, as far as the romantic site of the Peña de los Enamorados, about seven leagues distant from Loja; and, abandoning all thoughts of offensive operations for the present, soon after returned to Cordova. Muley Abul Hacen arrived the following day with a powerful reinforcement from Granada, and swept the country as far as Rio Frio. Had he come but a few hours



sooner, there would have been few Spaniards left to tell the tale of the rout of Loja.\*

The loss of the Christians must have been very considerable, including the greater part of the baggage and the artillery. It occasioned deep mortification to the queen; but, though a severe, it proved a salutary lesson. It showed the importance of more extensive preparations for a war which must of necessity be a war of posts; and it taught the nation to entertain greater respect for an enemy, who, whatever might be his natural strength, must become formidable when armed with the energy of despair.

At this juncture, a division among the Moors themselves did more for the Christians than any successes of their own. This division grew out of the vicious system of polygamy, which sows the seeds of discord among those whom nature and our own happier institutions unite most closely. The

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 58.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 214-217.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 1, cap. 7.—The *Peña de los Enamorados* received its name from a tragical incident in Moorish history. A Christian slave succeeded in inspiring the daughter of his master, a wealthy Mussulman of Granada, with a passion for himself. The two lovers, after some time, fearful of the detection of their intrigue, resolved to make their escape into the Spanish territory. Before they could effect their purpose, however, they were hotly pursued by the damsel's father at the head of a party of Moorish horsemen, and overtaken near a precipice which rises between Archidona and Antequera. The unfortunate fugitives, who had scrambled to the summit of the rocks, finding all further escape impracticable, after tenderly embracing each other, threw themselves headlong from the dizzy heights, preferring this dreadful death to falling into the hands of their vindictive pursuers. The spot consecrated as the scene of this tragic incident has received the name of *Rock of the Lovers*. The legend is prettily told by Mariana, (Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 253, 254,) who concludes with the pithy reflection, that "such constancy would have been truly admirable, had it been shown in defence of the true faith, rather than in the gratification of lawless appetite."

old king of Granada had become so deeply enamoured of a Greek slave, that the sultana Zoraya, jealous lest the offspring of her rival should supplant her own in the succession, secretly contrived to stir up a spirit of discontent with her husband's government. The king, becoming acquainted with her intrigues, caused her to be imprisoned in the fortress of the Alhambra. But the sultana, binding together the scarfs and veils belonging to herself and attendants, succeeded, by means of this perilous conveyance, in making her escape, together with her children, from the upper apartments of the tower in which she was lodged. She was received with joy by her own faction. The insurrection soon spread among the populace, who, yielding to the impulses of nature, are readily roused by a tale of oppression; and the number was still further swelled by many of higher rank, who had various causes of disgust with the oppressive government of Abul Hacen.\* The strong fortress of the Alhambra, however, remained faithful to him. A war now burst forth in the capital, which deluged its streets with the blood of its citizens. At length the sultana triumphed; Abul Hacen was expelled from Granada, and sought a refuge in Malaga, which, with Baza, Guadix, and some other places of importance, still adhered to him; while Granada, and by far the larger portion of the kingdom, proclaimed the authority of his elder son, Abu Abdallah, or Boabdil, as he is usually called by the Castilian writers. The Spanish sove-

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. pp. 214-217.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 262, 263.—Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 12.—Bernaldez states that great umbrage was taken at the influence which the king of Granada allowed a person of Christian lineage, named Venegas, to exercise over him. Pulgar hints at the bloody massacre of the Abencerrages, which, without any better authority that I know of, forms the burden of many an ancient ballad, and has lost nothing of its romantic colouring under the hand of Ginés Pérez de Hita.

reigns viewed with no small interest these proceedings of the Moors, who were thus wantonly fighting the battles of their enemies. All proffers of assistance on their part, however, being warily rejected by both factions, notwithstanding the mutual hatred of each other, they could only await with patience the termination of a struggle, which, whatever might be its results in other respects, could not fail to open the way for the success of their own arms.<sup>4</sup>

No military operations worthy of notice occurred during the remainder of the campaign, except occasional *carajadas* or inroads on both sides, which after the usual unsparing devastation, swept away whole herds of cattle, and human beings, the wretched cultivators of the soil. The quantity of booty frequently carried off on such occasions, amounting, according to the testimony of both Christian and Moorish writers, to twenty, thirty, and even

\* Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne, ubi supra.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, ubi supra.

Boabdil was surnamed "el Chico," *the Little*, by the Spanish writers, to distinguish him from an uncle of the same name: and "el Zogoybi," *the Unfortunate*, by the Moors, indicating that he was the last of his race destined to wear the diadem of Granada. The Arabs, with great felicity, frequently select names significant of some quality in the objects they represent. Examples of this may be readily found in the southern regions of the Peninsula, where the Moors lingered the longest. The etymology of Gibraltar, Gebal Tank, *Mount of Twik*, is well known. Thus, Algeziras comes from an Arabic word which signifies *an island*; Al-puxarias comes from a term signifying *herbage* or *pasturage*; Aricife from another, signifying *causeway* or *high road*, &c. The Arabic word *wad* stands for *river*. This, without much violence, has been changed into *guad*, and enters into the names of many of the southern streams; for example, Guadalquivir, *great river*, Guadiana, *narrow* or *little river*, Guadelete, &c. In the same manner the term Medina, Arabic "city," has been retained as a prefix to the names of many of the Spanish towns, as Medina Celi, Medina del Campo, &c. See Conde's notes to el Nubense, Descripcion de España, passim.

fifty thousand head of cattle, shows the fruitfulness and abundant pasturage in the southern regions of the Peninsula. The loss afflicted by these terrible forays fell, eventually, most heavily on Granada, in consequence of her scanty territory and insulated position, which cut her off from all foreign resources.

Towards the latter end of October, the court passed from Cordova to Madrid, with the intention of remaining there the ensuing winter. Madrid, it may be observed, however, was so far from being recognised as the capital of the monarchy at this time, that it was inferior to several other cities in wealth and population, and was even less frequented than some others, as Valladolid, for example, as a royal residence.

On the first of July, while the court was at Cordova, died Alfonso de Carillo, the factious archbishop of Toledo, who contributed more than any other to raise Isabella to the throne, and who, with the same arm, had wellnigh hurled her from it. He passed the close of his life in retirement and disgrace at his town of Alcalá de Henares, where he devoted himself to science, especially to alchemy; in which illusory pursuit he is said to have squandered his princely revenues with such prodigality, as to leave them encumbered with a heavy debt. He was succeeded in the primacy by his ancient rival Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, cardinal of Spain; a prelate whose enlarged and sagacious views gained him deserved ascendancy in the councils of his sovereigns.\*

The importance of their domestic concerns did not pre-

\* Silius de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 131.—Pérez, Chaos Varones, tit. 20.—Cabrera, Anales MS. año 1463.—Alonso, Anales de Navarra, tom. v. p. 11, ca. 1766.—Peter Martyr, Opus. Geogr. lib. 138.

vent Ferdinand and Isabella from giving a vigilant attention to what was passing abroad. The conflicting relations growing out of the feudal system occupied most princes, till the close of the fifteenth century, too closely at home to allow them often to turn their eyes beyond the borders of their own territories. This system was, indeed, now rapidly melting away. But Louis the Eleventh may perhaps be regarded as the first monarch who showed any thing like an extended interest in European politics. He informed himself of the interior proceedings of most of the neighbouring courts, by means of secret agents whom he pensioned there. Ferdinand obtained a similar result by the more honourable expedient of resident embassies; a practice which he is said to have introduced,\* and which, while it has greatly facilitated commercial intercourse, has served to perpetuate friendly relations between different countries, by accustoming them to settle their differences by negotiation rather than the sword.

The position of the Italian states at this period, whose petty feuds seemed to blind them to the invasion which menaced them from the Ottoman empire, was such as to excite a lively interest throughout Christendom, and especially in Ferdinand, as sovereign of Sicily. He succeeded, by means of his ambassadors at the papal court, in opening a negotiation between the belligerents, and in finally adjusting the terms of a general pacification, signed December 12th, 1482. The Spanish court, in consequence of its friendly mediation on this occasion, received three several embassies with suitable acknowledgments, on the part of pope Sixtus the Fourth, the college of cardinals, and the

\* Fred. Marsliar, De Leg. 2, 11.—M. de Wicquefort derives the word *ambassadeur* (anciently in English *embassador*) from the Spanish word *embiax*, "to send." See Rights of Ambassadors, translated by Digby, (London, 1740,) book 1, chap. 1.

city of Rome ; and certain marks of distinction were conferred by his Holiness on the Castilian envoys, not enjoyed by those of any other potentate. This event is worthy of notice as the first instance of Ferdinand's interference in the politics of Italy, in which at a later period he was destined to act so prominent a part.

The affairs of Navarre at this time were such as to engage still more deeply the attention of the Spanish sovereigns. The crown of that kingdom had devolved, on the death of Leonora, the guilty sister of Ferdinand, on her grandchild, Francis Phœbus, whose mother Magdeleine of France held the reins of government during her son's minority.† The near relationship of this princess to Louis the Eleventh gave that monarch an absolute influence in the councils of Navarre. He made use of this to bring about a marriage between the young king, Francis Phœbus, and Joanna Beltraneja, Isabella's former competitor for the crown of Castile, notwithstanding this princess had long since taken the veil in the convent of Santa Clara at Coimbra. It is not easy to unravel the tortuous politics of King Louis. The Spanish writers impute to him the design of enabling

\* Sismondi, *Républiques Italiennes*, tom. xi. cap. 38.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, pp. 195-198.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 218.

† Aleson, *Annales de Navarre*, lib. 34, cap. 1.—*Histoire du Royaume de Navarre*, p. 558.

Leonora's son, Gaston de Foix, prince of Viana, was slain by an accidental wound from a lance, at a tourney at Lisbon, in 1469. By the princess Magdeleine, his wife, sister of Louis XI., he left two children, a son and daughter, each of whom in turn succeeded to the crown of Navarre. Francis Phœbus ascended the throne on the demise of his grandmother Leonora, in 1479. He was distinguished by his personal graces and beauty, and especially by the golden lustre of his hair, from which, according to Aleson, he derived his cognomen of Phœbus. As it was an ancestral name, however, such an etymology may be thought somewhat fanciful.

Joanna by this alliance to establish her pretensions to the Castilian throne, or at least to give such employment to its present proprietors as should effectually prevent them from disturbing him in the possession of Roussillon. However this may be, his intrigues with Portugal were disclosed to Ferdinand by certain nobles of that court, with whom he was in secret correspondence. The Spanish sovereigns, in order to counteract this scheme, offered the hand of their own daughter Joanna, afterwards mother of Charles the Fifth, to the king of Navarre. But all negotiations relative to this matter were eventually defeated by the sudden death of this young prince, not without strong suspicions of poison. He was succeeded on the throne by his sister Catharine. Propositions were then made by Ferdinand and Isabella for the marriage of this princess, then thirteen years of age, with their infant son John, heir apparent of their united monarchies.\* Such an alliance, which would bring under one government nations corresponding in origin, language, general habits, and local interests, presented great and obvious advantages. It was however evaded by the queen dowager, who still acted as regent, on the pretext of disparity of age in the parties. Information being soon after received that Louis the Eleventh was taking measures to make himself master of the strong places in Navarre, Isabella transferred her residence to the frontier town of Logroño, prepared to resist by arms, if necessary, the occupation of that country by her insidious and powerful neighbour. The death of the king of France, which occurred not long after, fortunately relieved the sovereigns

\* Ferdinand and Isabella had at this time four children; the infant Don John, four years and a half old, but who did not live to come to the succession, and the infantas Isabella, Joanna, and Maria; the last, born at Cordova during the summer of 1482.

from apprehensions of any immediate annoyance on that quarter.<sup>1</sup>

Amid their manifold concerns, Ferdinand and Isabella kept their thoughts anxiously bent on their great enterprise, the conquest of Granada. At a congress general of the deputies of the hermandad, held at Pinto at the commencement of the present year, 1483, with the view of reforming certain abuses in that institution, a liberal grant was made of eight thousand men, and sixteen thousand beasts\* of burden, for the purpose of conveying supplies to the garrison in Alhama. But the sovereigns experienced great embarrassment from the want of funds. There is probably no period in which the princes of Europe felt so sensibly their own penury, as at the close of the fifteenth century; when, the demesnes of the crown having been very generally wasted by the lavishness or imbecility of its proprietors, no substitute had as yet been found in that searching and well-arranged system of taxation which prevails at the present day. The Spanish sovereigns, notwithstanding the economy which they had introduced into the finances, felt the pressure of these embarrassments, peculiarly, at the present juncture. The maintenance of the royal guard and of the vast national police of the hermandad, the incessant military operations of the late campaign, together with the equipment of a navy, not merely for war, but for maritime discovery, were so many copious drains of the exchequer.† Under these cir-

\* Aleson, *Annales de Navarre*, lib. 34, cap. 2; lib. 35, cap. 1.—*Histoire du Royaume de Navarre*, pp. 578, 579.—*La Clede*, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iii. pp. 438-441.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 199 — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 551.

† Lebríja, *Rerum Gestarum Decades*, ii. lib. 2, cap. 1.

Besides the armada in the Mediterranean, a fleet under Pedro de Vera was prosecuting a voyage of discovery and conquest to the Canaries, which will be the subject of more particular notice hereafter



cumstances, they obtained from the pope a grant of one hundred thousand ducats, to be raised out of the ecclesiastical revenues in Castile and Aragon. A bull of crusade was also published by his Holiness, containing numerous indulgences for such as should bear arms against the infidel, as well as those who should prefer to commute their military service for the payment of a sum of money. In addition to these resources, the government was enabled on its own credit, justified by the punctuality with which it had redeemed its past engagements, to negotiate considerable loans with several wealthy individuals.\*

With these funds the sovereigns entered into extensive arrangements for the ensuing campaign; causing cannon, after the rude construction of that age, to be fabricated at Huesca, and a large quantity of stone balls, then principally used, to be manufactured in the Sierra de Constantina; while the magazines were carefully provided with ammunition and military stores.

An event not unworthy of notice is recorded by Pulgar as happening about this time. A common soldier, named John de Corral, contrived, under false pretences, to obtain from the king of Granada a number of Christian captives, together with a large sum of money, with which he escaped into Andalusia. The man was apprehended by the warden of the frontier of Jacn; and the transaction being reported to the sovereigns, they compelled an entire restitution of the money, and consented to such a ransom for the liberated Christians as the king of Granada should demand. This act of justice, it should be remembered, occurred in an age

\* Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 199.—Mariana, tom. ii. p. 551.—*Colección de Cédulas y Otros Documentos*, (Madrid, 1829,) tom. iii, No. 25.

For this important collection, a few copies of which only were printed for distribution, at the expense of the Spanish government, I am indebted to the politeness of Don A. Calderon de la Barca.

when the church itself stood ready to sanction any breach of faith, however glaring, towards heretics and infidels.

While the court was detained in the north, tidings were received of a reverse sustained by the Spanish arms, which plunged the nation in sorrow far deeper than that occasioned by the rout at Loja. Don Alonso de Cardenas, grand master of St. James, an old and confidential servant of the crown, had been intrusted with the defence of the frontier of Ecija. While on this station, he was strongly urged to make a descent on the environs of Malaga, by his *adalides* or scouts, men who, being for the most part Moorish deserters or renegadoes, were employed by the border chiefs to reconnoitre the enemy's country, or to guide them in their marauding expeditions.† The district around Malaga

† Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 56.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 202.

Juan de Corral imposed on the king of Granada by means of certain credentials, which he had obtained from the Spanish sovereigns without any privity on their part to his fraudulent intentions. The story is told in a very blind manner by Pulgar.

It may not be amiss to mention here a doughty feat performed by another Castilian envoy, of much higher rank, Don Juan de Vera. This knight, while conversing with certain Moorish cavaliers in the Alhambra, was so much scandalised by the freedom with which one of them treated the immaculate conception, that he gave the circumcised dog the lie, and smote him a sharp blow on the head with his sword. Ferdinand, says Bernaldez, who tells the story, was much gratified with the exploit, and recompensed the good knight with many honours.

† The *adalid* was a guide, or scout, whose business it was to make himself acquainted with the enemy's country, and to guide the invaders into it. Much dispute has arisen respecting the authority and functions of this officer. Some writers regard him as an independent leader, or commander, and the Dictionary of the Academy defines the term *adalid* by these very words. The Siete Partidas, however, explains at length the peculiar duties of this officer, conformably to the account I have given (Ed. de la Real Acad.; Madrid, 1807; part. 2, tit. 2, leyes 1-4.) Bernaldez, Pulgar, and the other chroniclers of the Granadine war, repeatedly notice

was famous under the Saracens for its silk manufactures, of which it annually made large exports to other parts of Europe. It was to be approached by traversing a savage sierra, or chain of mountains, called the Axarquia, whose margin occasionally afforded good pasturage, and was sprinkled over with Moorish villages. After threading its defiles, it was proposed to return by an open road that turned the southern extremity of the sierra along the sea-shore. There was little to be apprehended, it was stated, from pursuit, since Malaga was almost wholly unprovided with cavalry.\*

The grand master, falling in with the proposition, communicated it to the principal chiefs on the borders; among others, to Don Pedro Henriquez, adelantado of Audalusia, Don Juan de Silva, count of Cifuentes, Don Alonso de Aguilar, and the marquis of Cadiz. These noblemen, collecting their retainers, repaired to Antequera, where the ranks were quickly swelled by recruits from Cordova, Seville, Xerez, and other cities of Audalusia, whose chivalry always readily answered the summons to an expedition over the border.†

him in this connexion. When he is spoken of as a captain, or leader, as he sometimes is in these and other ancient records, his authority, I suspect, is intended to be limited to the persons who aided him in the execution of his peculiar office.—It was common for the great chiefs, who lived on the borders, to maintain in their pay a number of these *adalides*, to inform them of the fitting time and place for making a foray. The post, as may well be believed, was one of great trust and personal hazard.

\* Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 203.—L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 173.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 320.

† Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 2, cap. 2.

The title of *adelantado* implies in its etymology one preferred or placed before others. The office is of great antiquity; some have derived it from the reign of St. Ferdinand in the thirteenth century, but Mendoza proves its existence at a far earlier period. The adelantado was possessed of very

In the meanwhile, however, the marquis of Cadiz had received such intelligence from his own *adelidos* as led him to doubt the expediency of a march through intricate defiles, inhabited by a poor and hardy peasantry; and he strongly advised to direct the expedition against the neighbouring town of Alamoja. But in this he was overruled by the grand master and the other partners of his enterprise; many of whom, with the rash confidence of youth, were excited rather than intimidated by the prospect of danger.

On Wednesday, the 19th of March, this gallant little army marched forth from the gates of Antequera. The van was intrusted to the adelantado Henriquez and Don Alonso de Aguilar. The centre divisions were led by the marquis of Cadiz and the count of Cifuentes, and the rear-guard by the grand master of St. James. The number of foot, which is uncertain, appears to have been considerably less than that of the horse, which amounted to about three thousand, containing the flower of Andalusian knighthood, together with the array of St. James, the most opulent and powerful of the Spanish military orders. Never, says an Aragonese historian, had there been seen in these times a more splendid body of chivalry; and such was their confidence, he adds, that they deemed themselves invincible by any force which the Moslems could bring against them. The leaders took care not to encumber the movements of the army with artillery, camp equipage, or even much forage and provisions, for which they trusted to the invaded

extensive judicial authority in the province or district in which he presided, and in war was invested with supreme military command. His functions, however, as well as the territories over which he ruled, have varied at different periods. An adelantado seems to have been generally established over a border province, as Andalusia for example. Morúa discusses the civil authority of this officer, in *Vi-Teoría*, tom. ii. cap. 22.—See also Salazar de Mendoza, *Dignidades*, lib. 2, cap. 15.

territory. A number of persons, however, followed in the train, who, influenced by desire rather of gain than of glory, had come provided with money, as well as commissions from their friends, for the purchase of rich spoil, whether of slaves, stuffs, or jewels, which they expected would be won by the good swords of their comrades, as in 'Alhama.\*

After travelling with little intermission through the night, the army entered the winding defiles of the Axarquía, where their progress was necessarily so much impeded by the character of the ground, that most of the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed had opportunity to escape with the greater part of their effects to the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains. The Spaniards, after plundering the deserted hamlets of whatever remained, as well as of the few stragglers, whether men or cattle, found still lingering about them, set them on fire. In this way they advanced, marking their line of march with the usual devastation that accompanied these ferocious forays, until the columns of smoke and fire which rose above the hill-tops announced to the people of Malaga the near approach of an enemy.

The old king Muley Abul Hacen, who lay at this time in the city with a numerous and well-appointed body of horse, contrary to the reports of the adalides, would have rushed forth at once at their head, had he not been dissuaded from it by his younger brother Abdallah, who is better known in history by the name of El Zagal, or "the Valiant;" an Arabic epithet, given him by his countrymen to distinguish him from his nephew, the ruling king of Granada. To this

\* Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 60.—Rades y Andrada, Las Ties Ordenes, fol. 71.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 320.—Zuñiga, Anales de Sevilla, fol. 395.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 2, cap. 2.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.

prince Abul Hacen intrusted the command of the corps of picked cavalry, with instructions to penetrate at once into the lower level of the sierra, and encounter the Christians entangled in its passes; while another division, consisting chiefly of arquebusiers and archers, should turn the enemy's flank by gaining the heights under which he was defiling. This last corps was placed under the direction of Reduan Benegas, a chief of Christian lineage, according to Bernaldez, and who may perhaps be identified with the Reduan that, in the later Moorish ballads, seems to be shadowed forth as the personification of love and heroism.\*

The Castilian army in the mean time went forward with a buoyant and reckless confidence, and with very little subordination. The divisions occupying the advance and centre, disappointed in their expectations of booty, had quitted the line of march, and dispersed in small parties in search of plunder over the adjacent country; and some of the high-mettled young cavaliers had the audacity to ride up in defiance to the very walls of Malaga. The grand master of St. James was the only leader who kept his columns unbroken, and marched forward in order of battle. Things were in this state, when the Moorish cavalry under El Zagal, suddenly emerging from one of the mountain passes, appeared before the astonished rear-guard of the Christians. The Moors spurred on to the assault, but the well-disciplined chivalry of St. James remained unshaken. In the fierce struggle which ensued, the Andalusians became embarrassed by the narrowness of the ground on which they were engaged, which afforded no scope for the manœuvres of cavalry; while the Moors, trained to the wild tactics of mountain warfare, went through their usual evolu-

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii p. 217.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 264-267.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS cap. 60.

tions, retreating and returning to the charge with a celerity that sorely distressed their opponents, and at length threw them into some disorder. The grand master in consequence despatched a message to the marquis of Cadiz, requesting his support. The latter, putting himself at the head of such of his scattered forces as he could hastily muster, readily obeyed the summons. Discerning, on his approach, the real source of the grand master's embarrassment, he succeeded in changing the field of action by drawing off the Moors to an open reach of the valley, which allowed free play to the movements of the Andalusian horse, when the combined squadrons pressed so hard on the Moslems, that they were soon compelled to take refuge within the depths of their own mountains.<sup>1</sup>

In the meanwhile the scattered troops of the advance, alarmed by the report of the action, gradually assembled under their respective banners, and fell back upon the rear. A council of war was then called. All further progress seemed to be effectually intercepted. The country was everywhere in arms. The most that could now be hoped was, that they might be suffered to retire unmolested with such plunder as they had already acquired. Two routes lay open for this purpose. The one winding along the sea-shore, wide and level, but circuitous, and swept through the whole range of its narrow entrance by the fortress of Malaga. This determined them unhappily to prefer the other route, being that by which they had penetrated the Avarquia, or rather a shorter cut, by which the adalides undertook to conduct them through its mazes.<sup>†</sup>

The little army commenced its retrograde movement

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. p. 217.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 204.—Rades y Andrada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, fol. 71, 72.

† Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. pp. 552, 553.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 205.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 321.

with undiminished spirit. But it was now embarrassed with the transportation of its plunder, and by the increasing difficulties of the sierra, which, as they ascended its sides, was matted over with impenetrable thickets, and broken up by formidable ravines or channels, cut deep into the soil by the mountain torrents. The Moors were now seen mustering in considerable numbers along the heights, and, as they were expert marksmen, being trained by early and assiduous practice, the shots from their arquebuses and cross-bows frequently found some available point in the harness of the Spanish men-at-arms. At length, the army, through the treachery or ignorance of the guides, was suddenly brought to a halt by arriving in a deep glen or enclosure, whose rocky sides rose with such boldness as to be scarcely practicable for infantry, much less for horse. To add to their distresses, daylight, without which they could scarcely hope to extricate themselves, was fast fading away.

In this extremity no other alternative seemed to remain than to attempt to regain the route from which they had departed. As all other considerations were now subordinate to those of personal safety, it was agreed to abandon the spoil acquired at so much hazard, which greatly retarded their movements. As they painfully retraced their steps, the darkness of the night was partially dispelled by numerous fires which blazed along the hill tops, and which showed the figures of their enemies flitting to and fro like so many spectres. It seemed, said Bernaldez, as if ten thousand torches were glancing along the mountains. At length, the whole body, faint with fatigue and hunger, reached the borders of a little stream, which flowed through a valley, whose avenues, as well as the rugged heights by

\* Pulgar, Reyes Catolicos, p. 205.—Gairbay, Conpendio, tom. i., p. 636.



which it was commanded, were already occupied by the enemy, who poured down mingled volleys of shots, stones, and arrows on the heads of the Christians. The compact mass presented by the latter afforded a sure mark to the artillery of the Moors; while they, from their scattered position, as well as from the defences afforded by the nature of the ground, were exposed to little annoyance in return. In addition to lighter missiles, the Moors occasionally dislodged large fragments of rock, which, rolling with tremendous violence down the declivities of the hills, spread frightful desolation through the Christian ranks.\*

The dismay occasioned by these scenes, occurring amidst the darkness of night, and heightened by the shrill war-cries of the Moors, which rose round them on every quarter, seems to have completely bewildered the Spaniards, even their leaders. It was the misfortune of the expedition, that there was but little concert between the several commanders, or, at least, that there was no one so pre-eminent above the rest as to assume authority at this awful moment. So far, it would seem, from attempting escape, they continued in their perilous position, uncertain what course to take, until midnight; when at length, after having seen their best and bravest followers fall thick around them, they determined at all hazards to force a passage across the sierra in the face of the enemy. "Better lose our lives," said the grand master of St. James, addressing his men, "in cutting a way through the foe, than be butchered without resistance, like cattle in the shambles."†

The marquis of Cadiz, guided by a trusty adalid, and

\* Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 60.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, ubi supra.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 264-267.

† Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 206.—Rades y Andrada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, fol. 71, 72.

accompanied by sixty or seventy lances, was fortunate enough to gain a circuitous route less vigilantly guarded by the enemy, whose attention was drawn to the movements of the main body of the Castilian army. By means of this path, the marquis with his little band succeeded, after a painful march, in which his good steed sunk under him oppressed with wounds and fatigue, in reaching a valley at some distance from the scene of action, where he determined to wait the coming up of his friends, who he confidently expected would follow on his track.\*

But the grand master and his associates, missing this track in the darkness of the night, or perhaps preferring another, breasted the sierra in a part where it proved extremely difficult of ascent. At every step the loosened earth gave way under the pressure of the foot; and the infantry, endeavouring to support themselves by clinging to the tails and manes of the horses, the jaded animals, borne down with the weight, rolled headlong with their riders on the ranks below, or were precipitated down the sides of the numerous ravines. The Moors, all the while avoiding a close encounter, contented themselves with discharging on the heads of their opponents an unintermitted shower of missiles of every description.†

It was not until the following morning that the Castilians, having surmounted the crest of the eminence, began the descent into the opposite valley, which they had the mortification to observe was commanded on every point

\* Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, loc. cit.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap 60.

† Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 206.

Mr Irving, in his "Conquest of Granada," states that the scene of the greatest slaughter in this rout is still known to the inhabitants of the Axarquia by the name of *La Cuesta de la Matanza*, or "The Hill of the Massacre."

by their vigilant adversary, who seemed now in their eyes to possess the powers of ubiquity. As the light broke upon the troops, it revealed the whole extent of their melancholy condition. How different from the magnificent array, which, but two days previous, marched forth with such high and confident hopes from the gates of Antequera ! their ranks thinned, their bright arms defaced and broken, their banners rent in pieces, or lost,—as had been that of St. James, together with its gallant *alferez*, Diego Becerra, in the terrible passage of the preceding night,—their countenances aghast with terror, fatigue, and famine ! Despair now was in every eye ; all subordination was at an end. No one, says Pulgar, heeded any longer the call of the trumpet, or the wave of the banner. Each sought only his own safety, without regard to his comrade. Some threw away their arms ; hoping by this means to facilitate their escape, while in fact it only left them more defenceless against the shafts of their enemies. Some, oppressed with fatigue and terror, fell down and died without so much as receiving a wound. The panic was such, that, in more than one instance, two or three Moorish soldiers were known to capture thrice their own number of Spaniards. Some, losing their way, strayed back to Malaga, and were made prisoners by females of the city, who overtook them in the fields. Others escaped to Alhama, or other distant places, after wandering seven or eight days among the mountains, sustaining life on such wild herbs and berries as they could find, and lying close during the day. A greater number succeeded in reaching Antequera, and, among these, most of the leaders of the expedition. The grand master of St. James, the adelantado Henriquez, and Don Alonso de Aguilar, effected their escape by scaling so perilous a part of the sierra that their pursuers cared not to follow. The count de Cifuentes was less fortu-

nate.\* That nobleman's division was said to have suffered more severely than any other. On the morning after the bloody passage of the mountain, he found himself suddenly cut off from his followers, and surrounded by six Moorish cavaliers, against whom he was defending himself with desperate courage, when their leader, Reduan Benegas, struck with the inequality of the combat, broke in, exclaiming, "Hold! this is unworthy of good knights." The assailants sunk back abashed by the rebuke, and left the count to their commander. A close encounter then took place between the two chiefs; but the strength of the Spaniard was no longer equal to his spirit, and, after a brief resistance, he was forced to surrender to his generous enemy.†

The marquis of Cadiz had better fortune. After waiting till dawn for the coming up of his friends, he concluded that they had extricated themselves by a different route. He resolved to provide for his own safety and that of his followers; and, being supplied with a fresh horse, accomplished his escape, after traversing the wildest passages of the Axarquia for the distance of four leagues, and got into Antequera with but little interruption from the enemy. But although he secured his personal safety, the misfortunes of the day fell heavily on his house; for two of his brothers

\* Oviedo, who devotes one of his dialogues to this nobleman, says of him, "Fue una de las buenas lanzas de nuestra España en su tiempo; y muy sabio y prudente caballero. Hallose en grandes cargos y negocios de paz y de guerra."—Quineuagenas, MS. lat. 1, quine. 1, dial. 36.

† Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 218.—Zunta, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 321.—Carbajal, Anales, MS. año 1483.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 60.—Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 266, 267.—The count, according to Oviedo, remained a long while a prisoner in Granada, until he was ransomed by the payment of several thousand doblas of gold.—Quineuagenas, MS. lat. 1, quine. 1, dial. 36.

were cut down by his side, and a third brother, with a nephew, fell into the hands of the enemy.\*

The amount of slain in the two days' action is admitted by the Spanish writers to have exceeded eight hundred, with double that number of prisoners. The Moorish force is said to have been small, and its loss comparatively trifling. The numerical estimates of the Spanish historians, as usual, appear extremely loose: and the narrative of their enemies is too meagre in this portion of their annals to allow any opportunity of verification. There is no reason, however, to believe them in any degree exaggerated.

The best blood of Andalusia was shed on this occasion. Among the slain Bernaldez reckons two hundred and fifty, and Pulgar four hundred persons of quality, with thirty commanders of the military fraternity of St. James.† There was scarcely a family in the south but had to mourn the loss of some one of its members by death or captivity; and the distress was not a little aggravated by the uncertainty which hung over the fate of the absent, as to whether they had fallen in the field, or were still wandering in the wilderness, or were pining away existence in the dungeons of Malaga and Granada.

Some imputed the failure of the expedition to treachery in the *adalides*, some to want of concert among the commanders. The worthy curate of Los Palacios concludes his narrative of the disaster in the following manner: "The number of the Moors was small who inflicted this grievous

\* Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 60.—Marmol says that three brothers and two nephews of the marquis, whose names he gives, were all slain.—*Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 12.

† Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, fol. 395.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. *ubi supra*.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 206.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.—Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 12.

defeat on the Christians. It was, indeed, clearly miraculous, and we may discern in it the special interposition of Providence, justly offended with the greater part of those that engaged in the expedition; who, instead of confessing, partaking the sacrament, and making their testaments, as becomes good Christians, and men that are to bear arms in defence of the Holy Catholic Faith, acknowledged that they did not bring with them suitable dispositions, but, with little regard to God's service, were influenced by covetousness and love of ungodly gain."\*

\* Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 60.

Pulgar has devoted a large space to the unfortunate expedition to the Axarquía. His intimacy with the principal persons of the court enabled him, no doubt, to verify most of the particulars which he records. The curate of Los Palacios, from the proximity of his residence to the theatre of action, may be supposed also to have had ample means for obtaining the requisite information. Yet their several accounts, although not strictly contradictory, it is not always easy to reconcile with one another. The narrative of complex military operations are not likely to be simplified under the hands of monkish bookmen. I have endeavoured to make out a connected tissue from a comparison of the Moslem with the Castilian authorities. But here the meagreness of the Moslem annals compels us to lament the premature death of Conde. It can hardly be expected, indeed, that the Moors should have dwelt with much amplification on this humiliating period. But there can be little doubt, that far more copious memorials of theirs than any now published, exist in the Spanish libraries: and it were much to be wished, that some oriental scholar would supply Conde's deficiency by exploring these authentic records of what may be deemed, as far as Christian Spain is concerned the most glorious portion of her history.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE FALL OF GRANADA.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE POLICY PURSUED IN THE  
CONDUCT OF THIS WAR.

1483—1487.

Defeat and Capture of Abdallah.—Policy of the Sovereigns.—Large Trains of Artillery.—Description of the Pieces.—Stupendous Roads.—Isabella's care of the Troops.—Her Perseverance.—Discipline of the Army.—Swiss Mercenaries.—English Lord Seals.—Magnificence of the Nobles.—Isabella visits the Camp.—Ceremonies on the Occupation of a City.

THE young monarch Abu Abdallah, was probably the only person in Granada who did not receive with unmingled satisfaction the tidings of the rout in the Axarquia. He beheld with secret uneasiness the laurels thus acquired by the old king his father, or rather by his ambitious uncle El Zagal, whose name now resounded from every quarter as the successful champion of the Moslems. He saw the necessity of some dazzling enterprise, if he would maintain an ascendancy even over the faction which had seated him on the throne. He accordingly projected an excursion, which instead of terminating in a mere border foray, should lead to the achievement of some permanent conquest.

He found no difficulty, while the spirits of his people were roused, in raising a force of nine thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, the flower of Granada's chivalry. He strengthened his army still further by the presence of Ali Atar, the defender of Loja, the veteran of a hundred battles, whose military prowess had raised him from the common file up to the highest post in the army; and whose

plebeian blood had been permitted to mingle with that of royalty, by the marriage of his daughter with the young king Abdallah.

With this gallant array, the Moorish monarch sallied forth from Granada. As he led the way through the avenue which still bears the name of the gate of Elvira,<sup>1</sup> the point of his lance came in contact with the arch, and was broken.\* This sinister omen was followed by another more alarming. A fox, which crossed the path of the army, was seen to run through the ranks, and, notwithstanding the showers of missiles discharged at him, to make his escape unhurt. Abdallah's counsellors would have persuaded him to abandon, or at least postpone, an enterprise of such ill augury.

\* "Por esa puerta de Elvira  
sale muy gran cabalgada:  
cuánto del *hidalgo moro*,  
cuánto de la *yegua baya*.  
(        x        t        x        )

"Cuánta pluma y gentileza,  
cuánto capellán de giana,  
cuánto bayo boireguí,  
cuánto raso que se esmalta,

"Cuánto de espuela de oro,  
cuánto estribera de plata!  
Toda es gente valerosa,  
y esperta para batalla.

"En medio de todos ellos  
va el rey Chico de Granada,  
mirando las damas moras  
de las torres del Alhambra.

"La reina mora su madre  
de esta manera le habla:  
'Alá te guarde, mi hijo,  
Mahoma vaya en tu guarda.'"



But the king, less superstitious,\* or from the obstinacy with which feeble minds, when once resolved, frequently persist in their projects, rejected their advice, and pressed forward on his march.\*

The advance of the party was not conducted so cautiously, but that it reached the ear of Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, *alcayde de los donzeles*, or captain of the royal pages, who commanded in the town of Lucena, which he rightly judged was to be the principal object of attack. He transmitted the intelligence to his uncle the count of Cabra, a nobleman of the same name with himself, who was posted at his own town of Baena, requesting his support. He used all diligence in repairing the fortifications of the city, which, although extensive and originally strong, had fallen somewhat into decay; and, having caused such of the population as were rendered helpless by age or infirmity to withdraw into the interior defences of the place, he coolly waited the approach of the enemy.†

The Moorish army, after crossing the borders, began to mark its career through the Christian territory with the usual traces of devastation, and sweeping across the environs of Lucena, poured a marauding foray into the rich *campiña* of Cordova, as far as the walls of Aguilar; whence it returned, glutted with spoil, to lay siege to Lucena about the 21st of April.

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 36.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 267-271.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 60.—Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, fol. 10.—Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1. cap. 12.

† Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, part. 3, cap. 20.

The *donzeles*, of which Diego de Cordova was *alcayde*, or captain, were a body of young cavaliers, originally brought up as pages in the royal household, and organised as a separate corps of the militia.—Salazar de Mendoza, *Dignidades*, p. 259.—See also Morales, *Obras*, tom. xiv. p. 80.

The count of Cabra, in the meanwhile, who had lost no time in mustering his levies, set forward at the head of a small but well-appointed force, consisting of both horse and foot, to the relief of his nephew. He advanced with such celerity that he had well-nigh surprised the beleaguering army. As he traversed the sierra, which covered the Moorish flank, his numbers were partially concealed by the inequalities of the ground; while the clash of arms and the shrill music, reverberating among the hills, exaggerated their real magnitude in the apprehension of the enemy. At the same time the *alcayde de los donzeles* supported his uncle's advance by a vigorous sally from the city. The Granadine infantry, anxious only for the preservation of their valuable booty, scarcely awaited for the encounter, before they began a dastardly retreat, and left the battle to the cavalry. The latter, composed, as has been said, of the strength of the Moorish cavalry, men accustomed in many a border foray to cross lances with the best knights of Andalusia, kept their ground with their wonted gallantry. The conflict, so well disputed, remained doubtful for some time, until it was determined by the death of the veteran chieftain Ali Atar, "the best lance," as a Castilian writer has styled him, "of all Morisma," who was brought to the ground after receiving two wounds, and thus escaped by an honourable death the melancholy spectacle of his country's humiliation.\*

The enemy, disheartened by this loss, soon began to give ground. But, though hard pressed by the Spaniards, they retreated in some order, until they reached the borders of the Xenil, which were thronged with the infantry, vainly

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 36.—Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 302.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 1483.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 61.—Pulgar, *Crónica*, cap. 20.—Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 12.

attempting a passage across the stream, swollen by excessive rains to a height much above its ordinary level. The confusion now became universal, horse and foot mingling together; each one, heedful only of life, no longer thought of his booty. Many attempting to swim the stream, were borne down, steed and rider, promiscuously in its waters. Many more, scarcely making show of resistance, were cut down on the banks by the pitiless Spaniards. The young king Abdallah, who had been conspicuous during that day in the hottest of the fight, mounted on a milk-white charger richly caparisoned, saw fifty of his royal guard fall around him. Finding his steed too much jaded to stem the current of the river, he quietly dismounted and sought a shelter among the reedy thickets that fringed its margin, until the storm of battle should have passed over. In this lurking-place, however, he was discovered by a common soldier named Martin Hurtado, who, without recognising his person, instantly attacked him. The prince defended himself with his scimitar, until Hurtado, being joined by two of his countrymen, succeeded in making him prisoner. The men, overjoyed at their prize (for Abdallah had revealed his rank, in order to secure his person from violence,) conducted him to their general, the count of Cabra. The latter received the royal captive with a generous courtesy, the best sign of noble breeding; and which, recognised as a feature of chivalry, affords a pleasing contrast to the ferocious spirit of ancient warfare. The good count administered to the unfortunate prince all the consolations which his state would admit; and subsequently lodged him in his castle of Baena, where he was entertained with the most delicate and courtly hospitality.\*

\* Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. p. 637.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, ubi supra.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 61.—Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 36.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 271-274.

Nearly the whole of the Moslem cavalry were cut up, or captured, in this fatal action. Many of them were persons of rank, commanding high ransoms. The loss inflicted on the infantry was also severe, including the whole of their dear-bought plunder. Nine, or indeed, according to some accounts, two-and-twenty banners fell into the hands of the Christians in this action; in commemoration of which the Spanish sovereigns granted to the count of Cabra, and his nephew, the alcaide de los donzeles, the privilege of bearing the same number of banners on their escutcheon, together with the head of a Moorish king, encircled by a golden coronet, with a chain of the same metal around the neck.<sup>†</sup>

Great was the consternation occasioned by the return of the Moorish fugitives to Granada, and loud was the lament through its populous streets; for the pride of many a noble house was laid low on that day, and their king (a thing unprecedented in the annals of the monarchy) was a prisoner in the land of the Christians. "The hostile star of Islam," exclaims an Arabian writer, "now scattered its malignant influences over Spain, and the downfall of the Mussulman empire was decreed."

The sultana Zoraya, however, was not of a temper to waste time in useless lamentation. She was aware that a captive king, who held his title by so precarious a tenure as did her son Abdallah, must soon cease to be a king even in name. She accordingly despatched a numerous embassy to Cordova, with proffers of such a ransom for the prince's

The various details, even to the site of the battle, are told in the usual confused and contradictory manner by the garrulous chroniclers of the period. All authorities, however, both Christian and Moorish, agree as to its general results.

\* Mendoza, *Digüdad*, p. 382.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 4, dial. 9.

liberation as a despot only could offer, and few despots could have the authority to enforce.\*

King Ferdinand, who was at Vitoria with the queen, when he received tidings of the victory of Lucena, hastened to the south to determine on the destination of his royal captive. With some show of magnanimity, he declined an interview with Abdallah, until he should have consented to his liberation. A debate of some warmth occurred in the royal council at Cordova respecting the policy to be pursued; some contending that the Moorish monarch was too valuable a prize to be so readily relinquished, and that the enemy, broken by the loss of their natural leader, would find it difficult to rally under one common head, or to concert any effective movement. Others, and especially the marquis of Cadiz, urged his release, and even the support of his pretensions against his competitor, the old king of Granada; insisting that the Moorish empire would be more effectually shaken by internal divisions than by any pressure of its enemies from without. The various arguments were submitted to the queen, who still held her court in the north, and who decided for the release of Abdallah, as a measure best reconciling sound policy with generosity to the vanquished.†

The terms of the treaty, although sufficiently humiliating to the Moslem prince, were not materially different from those proposed by the sultana Zoraya. It was agreed that a truce of two years should be extended to Abdal-

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 36.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, pp. 271-274.

† Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 23.—Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 12.

Charles V. does not seem to have partaken of his grandfather's delicacy in regard to an interview with his royal captive, or indeed to any part of his deportment towards him.

lah, and to such places in Granada as acknowledged his authority. In consideration of which, he stipulated to surrender four hundred Christian captives without ransom, to pay twelve thousand doblas of gold annually to the Spanish sovereigns, and to permit a free passage, as well as furnish supplies to their troops passing through his territories, for the purpose of carrying on the war against that portion of the kingdom which still adhered to his father. Abdallah moreover bound himself to appear when summoned by Ferdinand, and to surrender his own son, with the children of his principal nobility, as sureties for his fulfilment of the treaty. Thus did the unhappy prince barter away his honour and his country's freedom for the possession of immediate, but most precarious sovereignty; a sovereignty which could scarcely be expected to survive the period when he could be useful to the master whose breath had made him.

The terms of the treaty being thus definitively settled, an interview was arranged to take place between the two monarchs at Cordova. The Castilian courtiers would have persuaded their master to offer his hand for Abdallah to salute, in token of his feudal supremacy; but Ferdinand replied, "Were the king of Granada in his own dominions, I might do this; but not while he is a prisoner in mine." The Moorish prince entered Cordova with an escort of his own knights, and a splendid throng of Spanish chivalry, who had marched out of the city to receive him. When Abdallah entered the royal presence, he would have prostrated himself on his knees; but Ferdinand, hastening to prevent him, embraced him with every demonstration of respect. An Arabic interpreter, who acted

<sup>1</sup> Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, cap. 36.

as orator, then expatiated, in florid hyperbole, on the magnanimity and princely qualities of the Spanish king, and the loyalty and good faith of his own master. But Ferdinand interrupted his eloquence with the assurance that "his panegyric was superfluous, and that he had perfect confidence that the sovereign of Granada would keep his faith as became a true knight and a king." After ceremonies so humiliating to the Moorish prince, notwithstanding the veil of decorum studiously thrown over them, he set out with his attendants for his capital, escorted by a body of Andalusian horse to the frontier, and loaded with costly presents by the Spanish king, and the general contempt of his court.<sup>†</sup>

Notwithstanding the importance of the results in the war of Granada, a detail of the successive steps by which they were achieved would be most tedious and trifling. No siege or single military achievement of great moment occurred until nearly four years from this period, in 1487; although, in the intervening time, a large number of fortresses and petty towns, together with a very extensive tract of territory, were recovered from the enemy. Without pursuing the chronological order of events, it is probable that the end of history will be best attained by presenting a concise view of the general policy pursued by the sovereigns in the conduct of the war.

The Moorish wars under preceding monarchs had consisted of little else than *cavalgadas*, or inroads into the enemy's territory,<sup>†</sup> which, pouring like a torrent over the land, swept away whatever was upon the surface, but left it in its essential resources wholly unimpaired. The bounty

\* Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, loc. cit.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, cap. 36.

† The term *cavalgada* seems to be used indifferently by the ancient Spanish writers to represent a marauding party, the foray itself, or the booty taken in it.

of nature soon repaired the ravages of man, and the ensuing harvest seemed to shoot up more abundantly from the soil, enriched by the blood of the husbandman. A more vigorous system of spoliation was now introduced. Instead of one campaign, the army took the field in spring and autumn, intermitting its efforts only during the intolerable heats of summer, so that the green crop had no time to ripen ere it was trodden down under the iron heel of war.

The apparatus for devastation was also on a much greater scale than had ever before been witnessed. From the second year of the war, thirty thousand foragers were reserved for this service, which they effected by demolishing farm-houses granaries, and mills (which last were exceedingly numerous in a land watered by many small streams), by eradicating the vines, and laying waste the olive-gardens and plantations of oranges, almonds, mulberries, and all the rich varieties that grew luxuriant in this highly favoured region. This merciless devastation extended for more than two leagues on either side of the line of march. At the same time, the Mediterranean fleet cut off all supplies from the Barbary coast, so that the whole kingdom might be said to be in a state of perpetual blockade. Such and so general was the scarcity occasioned by this system, that the Moors were glad to exchange their Christian captives for provisions, until such ransom was interdicted by the sovereigns, as tending to defeat their own measures.\*

Still there was many a green and sheltered valley in Granada, which yielded its returns unmolested to the Moorish husbandman; while his granaries were occasionally enriched with the produce of a border foray. The Moors, too, although naturally a luxurious people, were patient of

\* Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 22.—Mem. de la Acad. de Hist. tom. vi. Ilust. 6.



suffering, and capable of enduring great privation. Other measures, therefore, of a still more formidable character, became necessary, in conjunction with this rigorous system of blockade.

The Moorish towns were for the most part strongly defended, presenting within the limits of Granada, as has been said, more than ten times the number of fortified places that are now scattered over the whole extent of the Peninsula. They stood along the crest of some precipice, or bold sierra, whose natural strength was augmented by the solid masonry with which they were surrounded, and which, however insufficient to hold out against modern artillery, bade defiance to all the enginery of battering warfare known previously to the fifteenth century. It was this strength of fortification, combined with that of their local position, which frequently enabled a slender garrison in these places to laugh to scorn all the efforts of the proudest Castilian armies.

The Spanish sovereigns were convinced that they must look to their artillery as the only effectual means for the reduction of these strong-holds. In this they as well as the Moors were extremely deficient, although Spain appears to have furnished earlier examples of its use than any other country in Europe. Isabella, who seems to have had the particular control of this department, caused the most skilful engineers and artisans to be invited into the kingdom from France, Germany, and Italy. Forges were constructed in the camp, and all the requisite materials prepared for the manufacture of cannon, balls, and powder. Large quantities of the last were also imported from Sicily, Flanders, and Portugal. Commissaries were established over the various departments, with instructions to provide whatever might be necessary for the operatives ; and the whole was entrusted to the supervision of Don Francisco Ramirez, an hidalgo of

Madrid, a person of much experience, and extensive military science, for the day. By these efforts, unremittingly pursued during the whole of the war, Isabella assembled a train of artillery such as was probably not possessed at that time by any other European potentate.\*

Still the clumsy construction of the ordnance betrayed the infancy of the art. More than twenty pieces of artillery used at the siege of Baza during this war are still to be seen in that city, where they long served as columns in the public market-place. The largest of the lombards, as the heavy ordnance was called, are about twelve feet in length, consisting of iron bars two inches in breadth, held together by bolts and rings of the same metal. These were firmly attached to their carriages, incapable either of horizontal or vertical movement. It was this clumsiness of construction which led Machiavelli, some thirty years after, to doubt the expediency of bringing cannon into field engagements; and he particularly recommends, in his treatise on the Art of War, that the enemy's fire should be evaded, by intervals in the ranks being left open opposite to his cannon.†

The balls thrown from these engines were sometimes of iron, but more usually of marble. Several hundred of the latter have been picked up in the fields around Baza, many of which are fourteen inches in diameter, and weigh a hundred and seventy-five pounds. Yet this bulk, enormous as it appears, shows a considerable advance in the art since the beginning of the century, when the stone balls discharged, according to Zurita, at the siege of Balaguer, weighed not less than five hundred and fifty pounds. It was very long

\* Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 32, 41.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. lib. 20, cap. 59.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, u. lib. 3, c. 5.

† Machiavelli, Arte della Guerra, lib. 3.

before the exact proportions requisite for obtaining the greatest effective force could be ascertained.

The awkwardness with which their artillery was served corresponded with the rudeness of its manufacture. It is noticed as a remarkable circumstance by the chronicler, that two batteries, at the siege of Albahar, discharged one hundred and forty balls in the course of a day.<sup>\*</sup> Besides this more usual kind of ammunition, the Spaniards threw from their engines large globular masses, composed of certain inflammable ingredients mixed with gunpowder, "which, scattering long trains of light," says an eye-witness, "in their passage through the air, filled the beholders with dismay, and, descending on the roofs of the edifices, frequently occasioned extensive conflagration."<sup>†</sup>

The transportation of their bulky engines was not the

<sup>\*</sup> Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. illust. 6.

According to Gibbon, the cannon used by Mahomet in the siege of Constantinople, about thirty years before this time, threw stone balls which weighed above 600 pounds. The measure of the bore was twelve palms.—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. 68.

<sup>†</sup> Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom., vi. illust. 6.

We get a more precise notion of the awkwardness with which the artillery was served in the infancy of the science, from a fact recorded in the chronicle of John II., that, at the siege of Setenil, in 1407, five lombards were able to discharge only forty shot in the course of a day. We have witnessed an invention in our time, that of our ingenious countryman Jacob Perkins, by which a gun, with the aid of that miracle-worker, steam, is enabled to throw a thousand bullets in a single minute.

<sup>‡</sup> L. Marinco, Cosas Memorables, fol. 174.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos cap. 44.

Some writers, as the Abbé Mignot, (*Histoire des Rois Catholiques Ferdinand et Isabelle*; Paris, 1766; tom. i. p. 273,) have referred the invention of bombs to the siege of Ronda. I find no authority for this. Pulgar's words are, "They made many iron balls, large and small, some of which they cast in a mould, having reduced the iron to a state of fusion so that it would run like any other metal."

least of the difficulties which the Spaniards had to encounter in this war. The Moorish fortresses were frequently intrenched in the depths of some mountain labyrinth, whose rugged passes were scarcely accessible to cavalry. An immense body of pioneers, therefore, was constantly employed in constructing roads for the artillery across these sierras, by levelling the mountains, filling up the intervening valleys with rocks, or with cork-trees and other timber, that grew prolific in the wilderness, and throwing bridges across the torrents and precipitous *barrancos*. Pulgar had the curiosity to examine one of the causeways thus constructed preparatory to the siege of Cambil, which, although six thousand pioneers were constantly employed in the work, was attended with such difficulty, that it advanced only three leagues in twelve days. It required, says the historian, the entire demolition of one of the most rugged parts of the sierra, which no one could have believed practicable by human industry.\*

The Moorish garrisons, perched on their mountain fastnesses, which, like the eyry of some bird of prey, seemed almost inaccessible to man, beheld with astonishment the heavy trains of artillery emerging from the passes where the foot of the hunter had scarcely been known to venture. The walls which encompassed their cities, although lofty, were not of sufficient thickness to withstand long the assaults of these formidable engines. The Moors were deficient in heavy ordnance. The weapons on which they chiefly relied for annoying the enemy at a distance were the arquebus and crossbow, with the last of which they were unerring marksmen, being trained to it from infancy. They adopted a custom, rarely met with in civilised nations

\* Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 51.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 82.

of any age, of poisoning their arrows; distilling for this purpose the juice of aconite, or wolfsbane, which grew rife in the *Sierra Nevada*, or Snowy Mountains, near Granada. A piece of linen or cotton cloth, steeped in this decoction, was wrapped round the point of the weapon, and the wound inflicted by it, however trivial its appearance, was sure to be mortal. Indeed, a Spanish writer, not content with this, imputes such malignity to the virus, that a drop of it, as he asserts, mingling with the blood oozing from a wound, would ascend the stream into the vein, and diffuse its fatal influence over the whole system.\*

Ferdinand, who appeared at the head of his armies throughout the whole of this war, pursued a sagacious policy in reference to the beleaguered cities. He was ever ready to meet the first overtures to surrender, in the most liberal spirit: granting protection of persons, and such property as the besieged could transport with them, and assigning them a residence, if they preferred it, in his own dominions. Many, in consequence of this, migrated to Seville and other cities of Andalusia, where they were settled on estates which had been confiscated by the inquisitors; who looked forward, no doubt, with satisfaction to the time when they should be permitted to thrust their sickle into the new crop of heresy, whose seeds were thus sown amid the ashes of the old one. Those who preferred to remain in the conquered Moorish territory as Castilian subjects, were permitted the free enjoyment of personal rights and property, as well as of their religion; and such was the fidelity with which Ferdinand redeemed his en-

\* Mendoza, Guerra de Granada, (Valencia, 1776,) pp. 73, 74.—Zurita. Anales, tom. iv. lib. 20, cap. 59.—Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 168.

According to Mendoza, a decoction of the quince furnished the most effectual antidote known against this poison.

gagements during the war, by the punishment of the least infraction of them by his own people, that many, particularly of the Moorish peasantry, preferred abiding in their early homes to removing to Granada, or other places of the Moslem dominion. It was, perhaps, a counterpart of the same policy which led Ferdinand to chastise any attempt at revolt, on the part of his new Moorish subjects. the Mudejares, as they were called, with an unsparing rigour which merits the reproach of cruelty. Such was the military execution inflicted on the rebellious town of Benemaquez, where he commanded one hundred and ten of the principal inhabitants to be hung above the walls, and after consigning the rest of the population, men, women, and children, to slavery, caused the place to be razed to the ground. The humane policy usually pursued by Ferdinand seems to have had a more favourable effect on his enemies, who were exasperated rather than intimidated, by this ferocious act of vengeance.<sup>†</sup>

The magnitude of the other preparations corresponded with those for the ordnance department. The amount of forces assembled at Cordova we find variously stated at ten or twelve thousand horse, and twenty and even forty thousand foot, exclusive of foragers. On one occasion, the whole number, including men for the artillery service and the followers of the camp, is reckoned at eighty thousand. The same number of beasts of burden were employed in transporting the supplies required for this immense host, as well as for provisioning the conquered cities standing in the

\* Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 304.—Lebrija, *Rerum Gestarum Decades*, ii. lib. 4, cap. 2.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 76.—Marmol, *Rebelion de Moiscos*, lib. 1, cap. 12.

Pulgar, who is by no means bigoted for the age, seems to think the liberal terms granted by Ferdinand to the enemies of the faith stand in need of perpetual apology.—See *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 44 et passim.

midst of a desolated country. The queen, who took this department under her special cognisance, moved along the frontier, stationing herself at points most contiguous to the scene of operations. There, by means of posts regularly established, she received hourly intelligence of the war. At the same time she transmitted the requisite munitions to the troops, by means of convoys sufficiently strong to secure them against the irruptions of the wily enemy.\*

Isabella, solicitous for every thing that concerned the welfare of her people, sometimes visited the camp in person, encouraging the soldiers to endure the hardships of war, and relieving their necessities by liberal donations of clothes and money. She caused also a number of large tents, known as "the queen's hospitals," to be always reserved for the sick and wounded, and furnished them with the requisite attendants and medicine, at her own charge. This is considered the earliest attempt at the formation of a regular camp hospital, on record.†

Isabella may be regarded as the soul of this war. She engaged in it with the most exalted views, less to acquire territory, than to re-establish the empire of the Cross over the ancient domain of Christendom. On this point she concentrated all the energies of her powerful mind, never suffering herself to be diverted by any subordinate interest from this one great and glorious object. When the king, in 1484, would have paused a while from the Granadine war, in order to prosecute his claims to Roussillon against the French, on the demise of Louis the Eleventh, Isabella strongly objected to it; but, finding her remonstrance ineffectual, she left her husband in Aragon, and repaired to

\* Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 75.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 21, 33, 42.—Lebrija, *Rerum Gestarum Decades*, ii. lib. 8, cap. 6.—Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 13.

† *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. *Ilust.* 6.

Cordova, where she placed the cardinal of Spain at the head of the army, and prepared to open the campaign in the usual vigorous manner. Here, however, she was soon joined by Ferdinand, who, on a cooler revision of the subject, deemed it prudent to postpone his projected enterprise.

On another occasion in the same year, when the nobles, \* fatigued with the service, had persuaded the king to retire earlier than usual, the queen, dissatisfied with the proceeding, addressed a letter to her husband, in which, after representing the disproportion of the results to the preparations, she besought him to keep the field as long as the season should serve. "The grandees," says Lebrija, "mortified at being surpassed in zeal for the holy war by a woman, eagerly collected their forces, which had been partly disbanded, and returned across the borders to renew hostilities."\*

A circumstance, which had frequently frustrated the most magnificent military enterprises under former reigns, was the factions of these potent vassals, who, independent of each other, and almost of the crown, could rarely be brought to act in efficient concert for a length of time, and broke up the camp on the slightest personal jealousy. Ferdinand experienced something of this temper in the duke of Medina Celi, who, when he had received orders to detach a corps of his troops to the support of the count of Benavente, refused: replying to the messenger, "Tell your master, that I came here to serve him at the head of my household troops, and they go nowhere without me as their leader." The sovereigns managed this fiery spirit with the greatest address, and, instead of curbing it, endeavoured to direct it in the

\* Lebrija, *Rerum Gestarum Decades*, ii. lib. 3, cap. 6.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 31.



path of honourable emulation. The queen, who, as their hereditary sovereign, received a more deferential homage from her Castilian subjects than Ferdinand, frequently wrote to her nobles in the camp, complimenting some on their achievements, and others less fortunate on their intentions; thus cheering the hearts of all, says the chronicler, and stimulating them to deeds of heroism. On the most deserving she freely lavished those honours which cost little to the sovereign, but are most grateful to the subject. The marquis of Cadiz, who was pre-eminent above every other captain in this war for sagacity and conduct, was rewarded, after his brilliant surprise of Zahara, with the gift of that city, and the titles of marquis of Zahara and duke of Cadiz. The warrior, however, was unwilling to resign the ancient title under which he had won his laurels, and ever after subscribed himself, Marquis Duke of Cadiz.\* Still more emphatic honours were conferred on the count de Cabra, after the capture of the king of Granada. When he presented himself before the sovereigns, who were at Vitoria, the clergy and cavaliers of the city marched out to receive him, and he entered in solemn procession on the right hand of the grand cardinal of Spain. As he advanced up the hall of audience in the royal palace, the king and queen came forward to welcome him, and then seated him by themselves at table, declaring that "the conqueror of kings should sit with kings." These honours were followed by the more substantial gratuity of a hundred thousand maravedis annual rent; "a fat donative," says an old chronicler, "for so lean a treasury." The young alcaide

\* After another daring achievement, the sovereigns granted him and his heirs the royal suit worn by the monarchs of Castile on Lady-day; a present, says Abarca, not to be estimated by its cost.—*Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 303.

de los donceles experienced a similar reception on the ensuing day. Such acts of royal condescension were especially grateful to the nobility of a court, circumscribed beyond every other in Europe by stately and ceremonious etiquette.

The duration of the war of Granada was such as to raise the militia throughout the kingdom nearly to a level with \* regular troops. Many of these levies, indeed, at the breaking out of the war, might pretend to this character. Such were those furnished by the Andalusian cities, which had been long accustomed to skirmishes with their Moslem neighbours. Such, too, was the well-appointed chivalry of the military orders, and the organised militia of the *hermandad*, which we find sometimes supplying a body of ten thousand men for the service. To these may be added the splendid throng of cavaliers and *hidalgos* who swelled the retinues of the sovereigns and the great nobility. The king was attended in battle by a body-guard of a thousand knights, one half light, and the other half heavy armed, all superbly equipped and mounted, and trained to arms from childhood under the royal eye.

Although the burden of the war bore most heavily on Andalusia, from its contiguity to the scene of action, yet recruits were drawn in abundance from the most remote provinces, as Galicia, Biscay, and the Asturias, from Aragon, and even the transmarine dominions of Sicily. The sovereigns did not disdain to swell their ranks with levies of a humbler description, by promising an entire amnesty to those malefactors who had left the country in great numbers of late years to escape justice, on condition

\* Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, ubi supra.—Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.* lib. 1, epist. 41.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 68.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. cap. 58.

of their serving in the Moorish war. Throughout this motley host the strictest discipline and decorum were maintained. The Spaniards have never been disposed to intemperance; but the passion for gaming, especially with dice, to which they seem to have been immoderately addicted at that day, was restrained by the severe penalties.\*

- The brilliant successes of the Spanish sovereigns diffused general satisfaction throughout Christendom, and volunteers flocked to the camp from France, England, and other parts of Europe, eager to participate in the glorious triumphs of the Cross. Among these was a corps of Swiss mercenaries, who are thus simply described by Pulgar. "There joined the royal standard a body of men from Switzerland, a country in upper Germany. These men were bold of heart, and fought on foot. As they were resolved never to turn their backs upon the enemy, they wore no defensive armour, except in front; by which means they were less encumbered in fight. They made a trade of war, letting themselves out as mercenaries; but they espoused only a just quarrel, for they were devout and loyal Christians, and above all abhorred rapine as a great sin."† The Swiss had recently established their military renown by the discomfiture of Charles the Bold, when they first proved the superiority of infantry over the best-appointed chivalry of Europe. Their example no doubt contributed to the formation of that invincible Spanish infantry, which, under the Great Captain and his successors, may be said to have decided the fate of Christendom for more than half a century.

Among the foreigners was one from the distant isle of Britain, the Earl of Rivers, or conde de Escalas, as he is

\* Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 31, 67, 69.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 2, cap. 10.

† Reyes Católicos, cap. 21.

his patronymic, Scales, by the Spanish writers. "from Britain," says Peter Martyr, "a cavalier, by, and high-born. He was allied to the blood land. He was attended by a beautiful train of boys three hundred in number, armed, after the air land, with long-bow and battle-axe." This particularly distinguished himself by his gallantry. At the siege of Loja, in 1486. After having asked it after the manner of his country, says the chronicler, he dismounted from his good steed, himself at the head of his followers, armed like *lanco*, with their swords at their thighs, and in their hands, he dealt such terrible blows as filled even the hardy mountaineers of the astonishment. Unfortunately, just as he was carried, the good knight, as he was mounting his steed, received a blow from a stone, which dashed his teeth, and stretched him senseless on the

He was removed to his tent, where he lay some time for medical treatment; and, when he had suffered, he received a visit from the king and complimented him on his prowess, and testified sympathy for his misfortune. "It is little," replied he, "a few teeth in the service of him who has given

Lord," he added, "who reared this fabric, opened a window, in order to discern the more things that pass within." A facetious response, says the chronicler, which gave uncommon satisfaction to the

she, not long after, testified her sense of the earl's magnificent largess, consisting, among other

Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.* lib. 1, ep. 62.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 78.

things, of twelve Andalusian horses, two couches with richly wrought hangings and coverings of cloth of gold, with a quantity of fine linen, and sumptuous pavilions for himself and suite. The brave knight seems to have been satisfied with this taste of the Moorish wars; for he soon after returned to England, and in 1488 passed over to France, where his hot spirit prompted him to take part in the feudal factions of that country, in which he lost his life, fighting for the duke of Brittany.\*

The pomp with which the military movements were conducted in these campaigns, gave the scene rather the air of a court pageant than that of the stern array of war. The war was one which, appealing both to principles of religion and patriotism, was well calculated to inflame the imaginations of the young Spanish cavaliers; and they poured into the field, eager to display themselves under the eye of their illustrious queen, who, as she rode through the ranks mounted on her war-horse, and clad in complete mail, afforded no bad personification of the genius of chivalry. The potent and wealthy barons exhibited in the camp all the magnificence of princes. The pavilions decorated with various-coloured pennons, and emblazoned with the armorial bearings of their ancient houses, shone with a splendour which a Castilian writer likens to that of the city of Seville.† They always appeared surrounded by a throng of pages in gorgeous liveries, and at night were preceded by a multitude of torches, which shed a radiance like that of day. They vied with each other in the costliness of their apparel,

\* Guillaume de Taligny, *Histoire de Charles VIII.*, (Paris, 1617,) pp. 90-94.

† Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 75.—This city, even before the New World had poured its treasures into its lap, was conspicuous for its magnificence, as the ancient proverb testifies.—Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 183.

equipage, and plate, and in the variety and delicacy of the dainties with which their tables were covered.

Ferdinand and Isabella saw with regret this lavish ostentation, and privately remonstrated with some of the principal grandees on its evil tendency, especially in seducing the inferior and poorer nobility into expenditure beyond their means. This Sybarite indulgence, however, does not seem to have impaired the martial spirit of the nobles. On all occasions they contended with each other for the post of danger. The duke del Infantado, the head of the powerful house of Mendoza, was conspicuous above all for the magnificence of his train. At the siege of Illora, 1486, he obtained permission to lead the storming party. As his followers pressed onwards to the breach, they were received with such a shower of missiles as made them falter for a moment. "What, my men," cried he, "do you fail me at this hour? Shall we be taunted with bearing more finery on our backs than courage in our heart? Let us not, in God's name, be laughed at as mere holiday soldiers!" His vassals, stung by this rebuke, rallied, and, penetrating the breach, carried the place by the fury of their assault.†

\* Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 41.

† Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 59.—This nobleman, whose name was Íñigo Lopez de Mendoza, was son of the first duke, Diego Hurtado, who supported Isabella's claims to the crown. Oviedo was present at the siege of Illora, and gives a minute description of his appearance there. "He came," says that writer, "attended by a numerous body of cavaliers and gentlemen, as befitted so great a lord. He displayed all the luxuries which belong to a time of peace; and his tables, which were carefully served, were loaded with rich and curiously wrought plate, of which he had a greater profusion than any other grandee in the kingdom." In another place he says, "The duke Íñigo was a perfect Alexander for his liberality, in all his actions princely, maintaining unbounded hospitality among his numerous vassals and dependents, and beloved throughout Spain. His

Notwithstanding the remontrances of the sovereigns against this ostentation of luxury, they were not wanting in the display of royal state and magnificence on all suitable occasions. The curate of Los Palacios has expatiated with elaborate minuteness on the circumstances of an interview between Ferdinand and Isabella in the camp before Moclin, in 1486, where the queen's presence was solicited for the purpose of devising a plan of future operations. A few of the particulars may be transcribed, though at the hazard of appearing trivial to readers who take little interest in such details.

On the borders of the Yeguas, the queen was met by an advanced corps, under the command of the marquis duke of Cadiz, and, at the distance of a league and a half from Moclin, by the duke del Infantado, with the principal nobility and their vassals, splendidly accoutred. On the left of the road was drawn up in battle array the militia of Seville; and the queen, making her obeisance to the banner of that illustrious city, ordered it to pass to her right. The successive battalions saluted the queen as she advanced, by lowering their standards; and the joyous multitude announced with tumultuous acclamations her approach to the conquered city.

The queen was accompanied by her daughter, the infanta Isabella, and a courtly train of damsels, mounted on mules

palaces were garnished with the most costly tapestries, jewels, and rich stuffs of gold and silver. His chapel was filled with accomplished singers and musicians; his falcons, hounds, and his whole hunting establishment, including a magnificent stud of horses, not to be matched by any other nobleman in the kingdom. Of the truth of all which," concludes Oviedo, "I myself have been an eye-witness, and enough others can testify."—See Oviedo, (*Quincuagenas*, MS. bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 8,) who has given the genealogy of the Mendozas and Mendozinos, in all its endless ramifications.

richly caparisoned. The queen herself rode a chesnut mule, seated on a saddle-chair embossed with gold and silver. The housings were of a crimson colour ; and the bridle was of satin, curiously wrought with letters of gold. The infants wore a skirt of fine velvet, over others of brocade ; a scarlet mantilla of the Moorish fashion ; and a black hat trimmed with gold embroidery. The king rode forward at the head of his nobles to receive her. He was dressed in a crimson doublet, with *chausses*, or breeches, of yellow satin. Over his shoulders was thrown a cassock or mantle of rich brocade, and a sopravest of the same materials concealed his cuirass. By his side, close girt, he wore a Moorish scimitar ; and beneath his bonnet his hair was confined by a cap or head-dress of the finest stuff.

Ferdinand was mounted on a noble war-horse of a bright chesnut colour. In the splendid train of chivalry which attended him, Bernaldez dwells with much satisfaction on the English lord Scales. He was followed by a retinue of five pages arrayed in costly liveries. He was sheathed in complete mail, over which was thrown a French surcoat of dark silk brocade. A buckler was attached by golden clasps to his arm, and on his head he wore a white French hat with plumes. The caparisons of his steed were azure silk, lined with violet and sprinkled over with stars of gold, and swept the ground as he managed his fiery courser with an easy horsemanship that excited general admiration.

The king and queen, as they drew near, bowed thrice with formal reverence to each other. The queen, at the same time raising her hat, remained in her coif or head-dress, with her face uncovered ; Ferdinand, riding up, kissed her affectionately on the cheek, and then, according to the precise chronicler, bestowed a similar mark of tenderness on his daughter Isabella, after giving her his paternal benediction. The royal party were then escorted to the camp, where



suitable accommodations had been provided for the queen and her fair retinue.

It may readily be believed, that the sovereigns did not neglect, in a war like the present, an appeal to the religious principle so deeply seated in the Spanish character. All their public acts ostentatiously proclaimed the pious nature of the work in which they were engaged. They were attended in their expeditions by churchmen of the highest rank, who not only mingled in the councils of the camp, but like the bold bishop of Jaen, or the grand cardinal Mendoza, buckled on harness over rochet and hood, and led their squadrons to the field. † The queen at Cordova celebrated the tidings of every new success over the infidel, by solemn procession and thanksgiving with her whole household, as well as the nobility, foreign ambassadors, and municipal functionaries. In like manner, Ferdinand, on the return from his campaigns, was received at the gates of the city, and escorted in solemn pomp beneath a rich canopy of state to the cathedral church, where he prostrated himself in grateful adoration to the Lord of hosts. Intelligence of

\* Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 30.—The lively author of "A year in Spain" describes, among other suits of armour still to be seen in the museum of the armory at Madrid, those worn by Ferdinand and his illustrious consort. "In one of the most conspicuous stations is the suit of armour usually worn by Ferdinand the Catholic. He seems snugly seated upon his war-horse, with a pair of red velvet breeches, after the manner of the Moors, with lifted lance and closed visor. There are several suits of Ferdinand and of his queen Isabella, who was no stranger to the dangers of a battle. By the comparative heights of the armour, Isabella would seem to be the bigger of the two, as she certainly was the better.—*A Year in Spain*, by a young American, (Boston, 1829,) p. 116.

† Cardinal Mendoza, in the campaign of 1485, offered the queen to raise a body of 3000 horse, and march at its head to the relief of Alhama, and at the same time to supply her with such sums of money as might be necessary in the present exigency.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 56.

their triumphant progress in the war was constantly transmitted to the pope, who returned his benediction, accompanied by more substantial marks of favour, in bulls of crusade, and taxes on ecclesiastical rents. \*

The ceremonies observed on the occupation of a new conquest, were such as to affect the heart no less than the imagination. "The royal *alferez*," says Marineo, "raised the standard of the Cross, the sign of our salvation, on the summit of the principal fortress; and all who beheld it prostrated themselves on their knees in silent worship of the Almighty, while the priests chaunted the glorious anthem, *Te Deum laudamus*. The ensign or pennon of St. James, the chivalric patron of Spain, was then unfolded, and all invoked his blessed name. Lastly, was displayed the banner of the sovereigns, emblazoned with the royal arms; at which the whole army shouted forth, as if with one voice, 'Castile, Castile!' After these solemnities, a bishop led the way to the principal mosque, which, after the rites of purification, he consecrated to the service of the true faith."

The standard of the Cross, above referred to, was of massive silver, and was a present from pope Sixtus the Fourth to Ferdinand, in whose tent it was always carried throughout these campaigns. An ample supply of bells, vases, missals, plate, and other sacred furniture, was also borne along with the camp, being provided by the queen for the purified mosques. †

The most touching part of the incidents usually occurring at the surrender of a Moorish city, was the liberation of the Christian captives immured in its dungeons. On the capture of Ronda, in 1485, more than four hundred of these

\* In 1486, we find Ferdinand and Isabella performing a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS. año 86.

† L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 173.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 82, 87.

unfortunate persons, several of them cavaliers of rank, some of whom had been taken in the fatal expedition of the Axarquía, were restored to the light of heaven. On being brought before Ferdinand, they prostrated themselves on the ground, bathing his feet with tears; while their wan and wasted figures, their dishevelled locks, their beards reaching down to their girdles, and their limbs loaded with heavy manacles, brought tears into the eye of every spectator. They were then commanded to present themselves before the queen at Cordova, who liberally relieved their necessities, and, after the celebration of public thanksgiving, caused them to be conveyed to their own homes. The fetters of the liberated captives were suspended in the churches, where they continued to be revered by succeeding generations as the trophies of Christian warfare.\*

Ever since the victory of Lucena, the sovereigns had made it a capital point of their policy to foment the dissensions of their enemies. The young king Abdallah, after his humiliating treaty with Ferdinand, lost whatever consideration he had previously possessed. Although the sultana Zoraya, by her personal address and the lavish distribution of the royal treasures, contrived to maintain a faction for her son, the better classes of his countrymen despised him as a renegade, and a vassal of the Christian king. As their old monarch had become incompetent, from increasing age and blindness, to the duties of his station in these perilous times, they turned their eyes on his brother Abdallah, surnamed El Zagal, or "The Valiant," who had borne so conspicuous a part in the rout of the Axarquía. The Castilians depict this chief in the darkest colours of ambition and cruelty; but the Moslem writers afford no

\*Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 47.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS. cap. 75.

such intimation, and his advancement to the throne at that crisis seems to be in some measure justified by his eminent talents as a military leader.

On his way to Granada, he encountered and cut to pieces a body of Calatrava knights from Alhama, and signalised his entrance into his new capital by bearing along the bloody trophies of heads dangling from his saddlebow, after the barbarous fashion long practised in these wars.\* It was observed that the old king Abul Hacen did not long survive his brother's accession.† The young king Abdallah sought the protection of the Castilian sovereigns in Seville, who, true to their policy, sent him back into his own dominions with the means of making headway against his rival. The *alfakies* and other considerable persons of Granada,

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 37.—Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 276, 281, 282.—Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 304.

“El enjaeza el caballo  
De las cabezas de fama,”

says one of the old Moorish ballads. A garland of Christian heads seems to have been deemed no unsuitable present from a Moslem knight to his lady love. Thus one of the Zegues triumphantly asks,

“Que Cristianos habeis muerto,  
O escalado que murallas?  
O que cabezas famosas  
Aveis presentado a damas?”

This sort of trophy was also borne by the Christian cavaliers. Examples of this may be found even as late as the siege of Granada. See, among others, the ballad, beginning

“A vista de los dos Reyes.”

† The Arabic historian alludes to the vulgar report of the old king's assassination by his brother, but leaves us in the dark in regard to his own opinion of its credibility. “Algunos dicen que le procuro la muerte su hermano el Rey Zagal; pero Dios lo sabe, que es el unico eterno e inmutable.”—Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 38.

scandalised at these fatal feuds, effected a reconciliation, on the basis of a division of the kingdom between the parties. But wounds so deep could not be permanently healed. The site of the Moorish capital was most propitious to the purposes of faction. It covered two swelling eminences, divided from each other by the deep waters of the Darro. The two factions possessed themselves respectively of these opposite quarters. Abdallah was not ashamed to strengthen himself by the aid of Christian mercenaries; and a dreadful conflict was carried on for fifty days and nights within the city, which swam with the blood that should have been shed only in its defence.\*

Notwithstanding these auxiliary circumstances, the progress of the Christians was comparatively slow. Every cliff seemed to be crowned with a fortress; and every fortress was defended with the desperation of men willing to bury themselves under its ruins. The old men, women, and children, on occasion of a siege, were frequently despatched to Granada. Such was the resolution, or rather ferocity of the Moors, that Malaga closed its gates against the fugitives from Alora, after its surrender, and even massacred some of them in cold blood. The eagle eye of El Zagal seemed

\* Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 38.—Cardonne *Hist. de Afrique et d'Espagne*, pp. 291, 292.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, lib. 25, cap. 9.—Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, lib. i. cap. 12.

“Muy revuelta anda Granada  
en armas y fuego ardiendo,  
y los ciudadanos de ella  
duras muertes padeciendo;

“Por tres reyes que hay esquivos,  
cada uno pretendiendo  
el mando, cetro y corona  
de Granada y su gobierno,” &c.

See this old *romance*, mixing up fact with fiction, with more of the former than usual, in Hyta, *Guerras de Granada*, tom. i. p. 292.

to take in at a glance the whole extent of his little territory, and to detect every vulnerable point in his antagonist, whom he encountered where he least expected it; cutting off his convoys, surprising his foraging parties, and retaliating by a devastating inroad on the borders.\*

No effectual and permanent resistance, however, could be opposed to the tremendous enginery of the Christians. • Tower and town fell before it. Besides the principal towns of Cartama, Coin, Setenil, Ronda, Marbella, Illora, termed by the Moors “the right eye,” Moclin, “the shield” of Granada, and Loja, after a second and desperate siege in the spring of 1486, Bernaldez enumerates more than seventy subordinate places in the Val de Cartama, and thirteen others after the fall of Marbella. Thus the Spaniards advanced their line of conquest more than twenty leagues beyond the western frontier of Granada. This extensive tract they strongly fortified and peopled, partly with Christian subjects and partly with Moorish, the original occupants of the soil, who were secured in the possession of their ancient lands under their own law.†

Thus the strong posts, which may be regarded as the exterior defences of the city of Granada, were successively carried. A few positions alone remained of sufficient strength to keep the enemy at bay. The most considerable of these was Malaga, which from its maritime situation afforded facilities for a communication with the Barbary Moors, that the vigilance of the Castilian cruisers could not entirely intercept. On this point, therefore, it was deter-

\* Among other achievements, Zagal surprised and beat the count of Cabra in a night attack upon Moclin, and wellnigh retaliated on that nobleman his capture of the Moorish king Abdallah.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 48.

† Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS. cap. 75.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 48.—Lebrija, *Rerum Gestarum Decades*, ii. lib. 3, cap. 5, 7; lib. 4, cap. 2, 3.—Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 12.

mined to concentrate all the strength of the monarchy, by sea and land, in the ensuing campaign of 1487.

---

Two of the most important authorities for the war of Granada are Fernando del Pulgar, and Antonio de Lebrija, or Nebrissensis, as he is called from the Latin *Nebrissa*.

Few particulars have been preserved respecting the biography of the former. He was probably a native of Pulgar, near Toledo. The Castilian writers recognise certain provincialisms in his style belonging to that district. He was secretary to Henry IV., and was charged with various confidential functions by him. He seems to have retained his place on the accession of Isabella, by whom he was appointed national historiographer in 1482, when, from certain remarks in his letters, it would appear he was already advanced in years. This office, in the fifteenth century, comprehended, in addition to the more obvious duties of an historian, the intimate and confidential relations of a private secretary. "It was the business of the chronicler," says Bernaldez, "to carry on foreign correspondence in the service of his master, acquainting himself with whatever was passing in other courts and countries, and, by the discreet and conciliatory tenor of his epistles, to allay such feuds as might arise between the king and his nobility, and establish harmony between them." From this period Pulgar remained near the royal person, accompanying the queen in her various progresses through the kingdom, as well as in her military expeditions into the Moorish territory. He was consequently an eyewitness of many of the warlike scenes which he describes, and from his situation at the court, had access to the most ample and accredited sources of information. It is probable he did not survive the capture of Granada, as his history falls somewhat short of that event. Pulgar's Chronicle, in the portion containing a retrospective survey of events previous to 1482, may be charged with gross inaccuracy; but, in all the subsequent period, it may be received as perfectly authentic, and has all the air of impartiality. Every circumstance relating to the conduct of the war is developed with equal fulness and precision. His manner of narration, though prolix, is perspicuous, and may compare favourably with that of contemporary writers. His sentiments may compare still more advantageously, in point of liberality, with those of the Castilian historians of a later age.

Pulgar left some other works, of which his commentary on the ancient satire of "Mingo Revulgo," his "Letters," and his "Claros Varones," or sketches of illustrious men, have alone been published. The last contains notices of the most distinguished individuals of the court of Henry IV.

